

Élodie Attia

The Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan

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The Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan

An Edition of Ashkenazic Micrographical Notes

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Prologue

The present book is an edition of micrographical Masoretic notes. I started work on this project during the first phase of the project on “Material Text Cultures” at the Collaborative Research Centre 933 of the Heidelberg University.¹ The main purpose of the Center is to promote textual anthropology in the study of material artefacts in non-typographic societies.² This rigorous theoretical and practical approach focuses on various material artefacts that display written texts, and seeks to understand not only the written texts themselves (as with textual philology), but also the significance of the textification and textualization³ produced by the context of their production, as well as their meaning and practical reception in the specific social and cultural backgrounds that produced the artefacts.⁴ There is therefore an active relationship between the texts (considered as philological units), the artefacts (the material objects on which the texts are written and which are operative within the social space), the producers of the textartefact (*Textproduzent*), and the recipients of the text (*Textrezipient*).⁵ Within this framework, the meaning of a written text is never “immanent”. Instead, it is the result of various human practices of reception, as when we “annotate, read, memorize, quote, extract, dramatize, illustrate, copy, comment, interpret, hide, [and] react to” a text.⁶

The focus of the Subproject B04 (“Scholarly Knowledge, Drollery or Esotericism? The Masorah of the Hebrew Bible in its Various Material Properties”) of the CRC 933

1 The *Sonderforschungsbereich 933 – Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften* is being financed by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) between 2011 and 2015. <http://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/> (seen 14.7.2014).

2 Hilgert 2010; Meier et al. 2015.

3 See Oesterreicher’s terminological distinction between *Verschriftung* (textification) and *Verschriftlichung* (textualization): “the former applying to the shift in medium and the latter to the gradual change in conception of a discourse or discourse tradition, whereby ‘writtenness’ plays an increasingly important role in its transmission and reception”; See Bakker 1999, 32 note 5 and Oesterreicher 1993.

4 Metzeltin 2013, 446: “La socialisation et la sociabilité des êtres humains sont basées sur la communication verbale. Celle-ci se réalise par la textification de descriptions, d’argumentations et de narrations. Les textifications stables ont besoin de supports matériels. On ne peut les comprendre que dans des contextes de production et de réception. Dans ce sens, l’anthropologie textuelle de Metzeltin et This, avec leur focalisation sur la structuralité signifiante des textes, et l’anthropologie des textes de Hilgert, avec sa focalisation sur la contextualisation des textifications, fournissent des instruments élaborés de travail pour l’analyse et la compréhension des textifications des systèmes de connaissance.”

5 For H. Jauß, the ‘Author-Text-Reader’ relationship is essential to understanding a text. The Reader socializes the text. The text must be read, in order to enter history and have a socio-cultural function. Consequently, we seek to discover what a text meant for its readers a given time and what constituted their horizon of expectations (*Erwartungshorizont*); Jauß 1978, 12.

6 Hilgert 2010, 90 and 97.

is on the material properties of an important textual tradition that accompanies the biblical text. In this project, we approach the reception practices associated with the Hebrew Bible through the ‘textualization’ of Masoretic knowledge in the Middle Ages. The Masorah of the Ashkenazim often takes specific ornamental or figurative micrographical forms,⁷ which have yet to be analyzed within the context of ‘Masoretic studies’, an area of research which focuses on the transmission of the biblical text.⁸ Our project seeks to clarify whether the relationship between the Masorah included in biblical manuscripts and Masoretic traditions a) remained constant throughout the textual tradition conserved in biblical artefacts; and b) whether its reception varied when we consider an expanded field of applications, especially rabbinical commentaries.⁹ This general framework allows for different approaches. While one of my colleagues seeks to discover how much Masoretic knowledge rabbinical commentaries exhibit,¹⁰ I analyze the philological content of micrographical drawings in Hebrew Bibles. This has led me to focus on a specific Ashkenazic manuscript (MS Vat. Ebr. 14) and to prepare the critical edition of micrographical Masoretic notes presented in this book. On another level, the results of this philological analysis have also led me to evaluate the relationships between texts and images in the micrographic Masorah and its concrete functions in light of the reception practices associated with such biblical manuscripts, a question illuminated at an international conference organized in Heidelberg in November 2013.¹¹ The results of my analysis of the relationship between texts and images in the micrographic Masorah can be found in a separate article.¹²

The Masorah (or *massoret*) is, in a broad sense, a compilation of information which preserves the biblical text from corruption: it includes details on the vocalization and accentuation of the consonantal text, as well as Masoretic notes and handbooks.¹³ Strictly speaking, the Masorah “denotes an apparatus of instructions for

7 See the Introduction for further definitions.

8 Martín-Contreras 2013.

9 Cf. Liss, on-line MTK presentation.

10 I am referring to the PhD of my colleague Kay J. Petzold, *Die Idee des einen Textes. Die frühe Masorah der Hebräischen Bibel bei den mittelalterlichen jüdischen Bibelkommentatoren. Untersuchung schrifttragender Artefakte der Masorah und ihres Verhältnisses zur Rezeptionspraxis der Hebräischen Bibel anhand ihrer Benutzung und Kommentierung durch Rav Shlomo Yitzchaki (Rashi)* conducted within the framework of Subproject B04.

11 SFB 933 International Conference, Subproject B04: *Text-Image Relationship and Visual Elements in Written Hebrew Sources from the Middle Ages to Early Modern Period*, Heidelberg, 10–12 November 2013.

12 See Attia 2015.

13 For an exhaustive presentation of the Masoretic System, see Dotan 2007 [1977]; Tov 1992, 72–76; Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 37–49; Golinets 2012; Khan 2012. For an example of a Masoretic compilation, see the *Sefer Okhla we-Okhla*, edited in Frensdorff 1864; Graetz 1887; Díaz Esteban 1975; Ognibeni 1992 and 1995; Dotan 1967; Tov 1992, 74–75.

the writing of the biblical text and its reading [...] to ensure that special care would be exercised in the transmission of the text”.¹⁴ This textual apparatus includes the *Masora Parva* (the ‘small Masorah’ located on the side margins),¹⁵ the *Masora Magna* (the ‘great Masorah’, written on the upper and lower margins, as well as the ‘collative Masorah’), and the *Masora Finalis* (notes placed at the end of the book or codex).¹⁶ Each of these types of Masorah serves a specific function in the transmission of the biblical text. The *Masora Parva* (hereafter MP) plays a central role in this tradition: it is composed of an abbreviated note which is placed directly adjacent to the word or expression concerned in the biblical text (called a *lemma*). It points to specific problems: it clarifies spellings (defective or *plene*), accents, or vocalizations, and explains whether a term is a *hapax legomenon* (ב), whether something should be read into the text even though it is not written down (*qere-we la-ketiv*), or conversely whether the reader should omit to read something that is written on the page (*ketiv we-la-qere*). It also states how many times this problem occurs in the biblical text. The *Masora Magna* (hereafter MM) is commonly composed of two to four ruled lines of text located on the upper and lower margins of the folios. Its function is to expound on the MP’s notes, which it repeats before giving a detailed list of the *simanehon* (i.e., a list of all the instances of a particular lemma). The ‘collative Masorah’ provides the reader with collected lists of specific phenomena, such as different types of *hapax* forms. Among other things, the *Masora Finalis* gives information about the number of verses in each book.

Masoretes are known to have been committed to writing down vowels, accents, and Masoretic notes prior to the 8th century.¹⁷ However, the vocalizations, accentuations, and Masoretic notes (MP and MM) they transmitted in these early manuscripts¹⁸ did not necessarily concord.¹⁹ There are no extant written sources before the 9th or 10th century. Indeed, these early manuscripts attest to the prevalence of the Tiberian (Ben Asher and Ben Naftali) tradition, even if “the Tiberian Masoretic tradition had not fixed on the school of one particular Masorete” at the close of the Masoretic period.²⁰ In his *Mishne Torah* compiled between 1170 and 1180, Maimonides, who was against

¹⁴ Tov 1992, 72.

¹⁵ “On two sides of the columns of the text in the eastern and Spanish codices, and on the side corresponding to the external margin of the page in the Ashkenazi Bible” (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 31).

¹⁶ According to Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 31, Masoretic notes were probably being inserted on the margins of Tiberian biblical codices by the ninth century. Cairo Genizah fragments suggest that before that, they were gathered in separate booklets.

¹⁷ Dotan 2007, 613.

¹⁸ Díaz Esteban 1954.

¹⁹ Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 46. Scholars frequently find notes contradicting the main text and *vice versa* (see in this Edition, Case 5, note ii; Case 8, note vi; Case 12, note viii). Thus, while the consonantal text of the Masoretic Bible tended to have been standardized, the Masoretic apparatus seems to have remained rather heterogeneous.

²⁰ Khan 2012, 5. The two known schools are the Ben Asher and the Ben Naftali’s traditions.

the influence of the Karaites,²¹ declared a Ben Asher codex (the ‘popular in Egypt’) to be an authoritative reference work for those wishing to copy other Torah Scrolls.²² Indeed, he asserted that this codex had been used as a model codex in Jerusalem.²³ As a matter of fact, the Ben Asher Tiberian manuscript version(s) of the Hebrew Bible gradually did become predominant.²⁴ This means that the Masoretic tradition developed in one of the two following ways: either the standard Ben Asher Tiberian and non-standard (expanded) Tiberian traditions (such as the tradition which appeared in the Codex Reuchlinianus) both reached Europe at the same time,²⁵ but the expanded Tiberian tradition eventually fell out of use and the standard Tiberian tradition alone survived; or else, the expanded (non-standard) Tiberian tradition is the older one and was in circulation in Europe long before the advent of the standard Ben Asher Tiberian tradition. These two hypotheses frame my reflections on the tradition of Ashkenaz, which developed sometime between the 11th and the first half of the 13th centuries.

Today, the standard Tiberian tradition is widely attested and studied in manuscripts which in some cases predate the 12th century,²⁶ but the significance of the differences that exist between medieval manuscripts is still a matter for debate, especially in the case of late medieval sources, as their variants are less studied.²⁷ Some

21 The Karaites, defended by Judah Hadassi (writing in *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, in 1149), considered that everything in the biblical text was holy, including every detail of its vocalization and accentuation. See Dotan 2007, 2.2.4.

22 Mishne Torah, *Sefer Ahavah*, *Hilkhot Sefer Torah*, 8:5: “The book/codex (*sefer*) on which I base myself for these matters [copy of the Scrolls] is a book/codex (*sefer*) which is popular in Egypt, which includes twenty-four books and which was in Jerusalem for some years, where it served as a model for correcting books/codices (*sefarim*). Everyone used to rely on it for Ben Asher had corrected and studied it for years, correcting it many times as he copied it. I used it for the liturgical scroll (*Sefer Torah*) that I copied according to it.”

ה וספר שסמכנו עליו בדברים אלו, הוא הספר הידוע במצריים, שהוא כולל ארבעה עשרים ספרים, שהיה בירושלים מכמה שנים להגיע ממנו הספרים; ועליו, היו הכול סומכין, לפי שהגיעו בן אשר ודיקדק בו שנים, והגיעו פעמים רבות כמו שהעתיקו. ועליו, סמכתי בספר תורה שכתבתי כהלכתו.

23 An exemplar or model codex is a good quality Masoretic codex dedicated to the preservation of the entire biblical tradition, including both its written and reading traditions. It was used as a model for copying and revising liturgical Scrolls and codices. See Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 28; Khan 2012, 7–8. Maimonides does not conclude that all model codices should be Ben Asher codices, but just that the codex which he used for Torah scrolls was Ben Asher’s, which was popular in Egypt. Some scholars argue that this codex is what is known today as the Aleppo Codex. On the spread of the Mishne Torah in Ashkenaz, see Soloveitchik 2009; Woolf 2005.

24 According to Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 33–34, the Ben Asher tradition became prevalent everywhere during the 14th century.

25 For example, the Codex Reuchlinianus (dated 1105/6) shows an ‘extended infralinear Tiberian graphic system’ that allows us to trace its pronunciation back to the supralinear system of vocalization which was used until the end of the 11th century. Morag 1959.

26 Tov 1992, 35. Francisco 2008.

27 Cohen 1980; Cohen 1986; Tov 1992, 37.

scholars have pointed out that later Ashkenazic manuscripts may have stemmed from a specific cultural background with its own ancient traditions, and suggested that these traditions may have resisted the process of Masoretic standardization. In other words, the fact that Ashkenazic traditions seem not to be authoritative (from a standard Ben Asher point of view) does not mean that their story should not be told or that they escape the scope of scholarly enquiry today. Furthermore, in the case of the tradition of Ashkenaz, biblical manuscripts often feature a wealth of ornamental and figurative micrographical Masorah which have not been properly examined up until now. The following edition seeks to plug these gaps by engaging with the difficult questions raised by the transmission of the Masoretic tradition in non-Sephardic and non-Eastern areas.

Introduction

There can be no doubt that the great scholar Elijah Levita had access to a great number of medieval manuscripts. Regarding his methodical preparations to gather Masoretic information for the *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, the biblical and Masoretic concordance he compiled before publishing his *Massoret ha-Massoret* in 1538, he explained:

How I labored therein, neither resting nor being satisfied, and searched the correct and excellent book, giving my mind hereunto! Now I swear, [...], that more than once or twice I performed a day or two day's journey to a place, which I either knew myself or of which I had been informed, that there is to be found therein a reliable index of the Masorah. When I examined [the Masorah], and found it and corrected it, I selected from it the choice and correct articles, as roses from among thorns. Indeed, *most of the correct Codices I found to be Spanish*, and it is upon these that I relied, and it is their method that I followed. [...] I found the *Book Ochla Ve-Ochla* [...] There is no other book which so thoroughly treats on the Masoretic rules, excepting the scattered glosses around the margin in the Codices which, however, contain numberless errors. For the scribes have perverted them, as they did not care for the Masorah, but only thought to ornament their writing, and to make even lines so as not to alter the appearance [of the codex].¹

Levita claims in these lines that Sephardic sources are the most accurate, by which he means that they are more closely related to the standard version of the biblical text (i.e., the so-called Ben Asher Tiberian tradition).² This assertion implies that Levita rejects other Western-European (Ashkenazic or Italian) manuscripts as sources of valid biblical or Masoretic knowledge. Secondly, he claims that the Masorah that is found within the annotated and ornamented manuscripts is greatly defective. This is not so far from what Jacob ben Hayim Adonyah announced in his introduction to the *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524–1525):

Moreover, most of these [Masoretic remarks] are written in a contracted form and with ornaments, so much so that they cannot at all be deciphered, as the desire of the writer was only to embellish his writing and not to examine or to understand the sense [of the Masorah].³

Adonyah and Levita considered the Masorah to be the primary principle of biblical exegesis and wanted to understand it in order to restore the keys to the Torah.⁴ They believed, in line with the Renaissance mentality,⁵ that this knowledge had been utterly neglected, and could only be rediscovered through an edition of the 'original' Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, accompanied by a sort of *Urmassorah*.

1 Levita, *Massoret ha-Massoret*, 1538, Venice, Introduction II, see Ginsburg 1867b, 93–94.

2 Ginsburg 1897, 906; Pérez Castro 1977; Fernández Tejero 2000.

3 Ginsburg 1867a, 78–79.

4 Ginsburg 1867b, 103 and ff.; Ginsburg 1867a, 44–78, esp. Rashi's commentary, 59–65.

5 See Attia 2012, Chapter VII.

Masoretic Contents versus Masoretic Layout?

Modern scholarship does not consider an original biblical text to have ever existed.⁶ The transmission of the biblical and Masoretic knowledge of the East to other areas of the Jewish World⁷ is difficult to trace, as dated Hebrew sources are scarce or fragmentary prior to the 12th century.⁸ The oldest Hebrew biblical codices known today are dated or estimated to be dated no earlier than between the 9th and 10th centuries. Among them, six eastern manuscripts are generally held as the most prominent ones: the Aleppo Codex (910–930 by Aron ben Moshe Ben Asher)—which may have been the codex referred to in the above mentioned quotation as the one which Maimonides described and used—, the Cairo Codex (dated 894/5), MS BL Or. 4445 (10th century?), the Leningrad Codex (dated 1008/9), the Damascus Pentateuch (JNUL 24°5702 or Sassoon 507) and MS Sassoon 1053.⁹ There is a second gap of c. 200 years between these eastern sources and the oldest remaining European Hebrew sources. The first Hebrew manuscripts produced in Europe most likely originated in Italy in the 11th century.¹⁰ Although the first Bible of its kind surfaced in 1105/6 (Codex Reuchlinianus),¹¹ the oldest Ashkenazic manuscripts are dated later, from the end of the 12th century. This leaves us without material sources on the versions that were in circulation in the second half of the 11th century, at the lifetime of the main Jewish exegete Rashi (R. Shlomo Bar Isaac of Troyes).¹²

6 Tov 1992, 8–9, 11.

7 In terms of their geographical origins, Hebrew manuscripts usually come from the East (Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Persia), Sephardic areas (the Iberian Peninsula, the Maghreb, Sicilia, southern France, the Ottoman Empire after 1492), Ashkenazic areas (France, Germany, England, northern Italy and Eastern Europe), and the Byzantine region (Crimea, Greece, southern Italy), Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 32–33.

8 The Database of Hebrew dated or documented manuscripts (Sfardata) which was started in 1965 only has records for 3139 dated and documented items (i.e., 47% of the items of the Database), and among them only 12 codicological units are dated from before 1000—all of them are from Yemen, the Orient or Sephardic areas. See Beit-Arié 1991 and 1992. <http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/home.aspx> (seen 01.07.2014).

9 According to Yeivin 1980, 15–22; Yeivin 2011 [2003], 6–27. See also Beit-Arié 1993a on the sixteen dated manuscripts which predate 1028.

10 Ancient Italian Hebrew manuscripts are still systematically studied. See MS. Vat. Ebr. 31, dated 1072/3 (MPMA II, Ms. 38) and the Ms. London, BL, Add. 27214 (which contains seven codicological units, dated 1090/1, MPMA III, 43).

11 The first European Bible is probably the Ms. Karlsruhe, BL, Cod. Reuchlin 3 (dated 1106, Prophets Hagiographa, cf. MPMA III, Ms. 48). It was initially described as a ‘pre-Masoretic’ Bible. However, Morag argues that the phonetic system reflected by its vocalization system is fuller than in the standard Tiberian traditions, which is Palestinian and post-Masoretic, see Morag 1959, 229.

12 Only four dated Ashkenazic manuscripts predate 1200, among them two Bibles: 1177, Bologna, Bib Naz. II-I-7 (Talmud Bavli, see MPMA IV, Ms. 71); 1188/9, London, BL, Ar. Or. 51 (Grammatical Dictionary of Saruq, see MPMA IV, Ms. 84); 1189, London, Valmadonna Trust Library 1 (PMH, see afterwards);

In addition to this lack of information, Ashkenazic Bibles are still described in the same terms as those used by Levita. Whereas Sephardic manuscripts are considered to transmit a standard Tiberian consonantal text (and, by extension, an accurate Masorah), the vocalized and accentuated biblical text transmitted within Ashkenazic manuscripts is thought to have an “infinitely” greater number of discrepancies from the Ben Asher Tiberian text.¹³ Furthermore, despite the fact that there are no philological studies or editions of late medieval Ashkenazic Masoretic notes, it is commonly asserted that medieval Ashkenazic communities were unfamiliar with Masorah. Indeed, the mere presence of ornamental and figurative Masorah in their manuscripts is often presented as evidence of this lack of understanding.¹⁴ Nevertheless, to neglect Ashkenazic manuscripts solely on the basis of their existing ornamental or figurative micrographical elements is to preemptively eliminate the possibility that these manuscripts may have been produced in the context of specific reception practices associated with the Bible in the Middle Ages.

What is a Figurative Masorah (Masora Figurata)?

Thus far, the only scholars to have studied the phenomenon of using diminutive letters to draw decorative patterns are art historians. They consider it to be a specifically Jewish art of illumination.¹⁵ Its origin remains unclear, but it appears for the first time in the earliest eastern biblical codices.¹⁶ Scholars are yet to agree on a common terminology to describe this phenomenon.¹⁷ The term *Micrography* designates the art

1193, Bologna, Bib Univ 2208–9 (Prophets, Hagiographa, see MPMA IV, Ms. 91). Nine dated Bibles predate 1240: 1215, Vatican City, Vat. Ebr. 468, La Rochelle (complete Bible); 1215–6, Vatican City, Vat Ebr. 482, from La Rochelle (complete Bible); 1215–1216, London, BL, Ar. Or. 2 (PMH); 1233, Berlin, SB, Or. Quart. 9 (PMH); 1236, Milan, Ambrosiana, Ms 30inf–32inf (complete Bible); 1237–38, Breslau, Univ. Lib. M 1106 (PMH); 1239, Vatican City, Vat. Ebr. 14 (PMH); 1240, Parma, BP, 2345 (Hagiographa).

¹³ See Pérez Castro 1977, 161. This conclusion is based on variants of the consonantal text found in the Leningrad Codex, Or. 4445 and Cairo Codex, with two Sephardic manuscripts, M1 of the Complutense University Library of Madrid, JTS Ms. 44a (Hilleli), and two Ashkenazic manuscripts Paris BnF Hébr. 1–3, G-I-1 of the Escorial (Chersin? 1306).

¹⁴ See Dotan 2007, § 3.3.5.4., Ornamentation of the text. Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 39–40 writes: “The micrographic Masorah took on an aesthetic function rather than that of an aid to the study of the biblical text: the small size of the characters, their varying alignments, and the increasing disregard for the correspondence between the biblical text and the masoretic notes show that the Masorah was scarcely even understood”. Sirat 2002, 50–51 estimates that the Masorah written in micrography was never meant to be read.

¹⁵ Metzger 1974; Ferber 1976–77; Sirat/Avrin 1981; Gutmann 1983; Metzger 1986; Kogman-Appel 2004; Shalev-Eyni 2010; Halperin 2013.

¹⁶ On the origins of micrography, see Halperin 2013, esp. 5–21.

¹⁷ For instance, Ferber 1976–77 establishes a distinction between the device (micrography) and its form, which is decorative when it is either abstract or illustrative (when figurative). Gutmann 1983, 52

of writing in minute letters as well as the drawing itself, which can sometimes create confusion. Moreover, these types of micrographical forms and their contents have generally not been inventoried, whether in Hebrew manuscripts or more specifically in Ashkenazic biblical manuscripts.¹⁸

Hebrew paleography considers that there are no minuscules or majuscules in Hebrew. Instead, several styles of script (square, semi-cursive, cursive) are found within each type of script (Oriental/Eastern, Italian, Byzantine, Sephardic, Ashkenazic).¹⁹ The size of the letters can be very small. Ornamental (non-representational, abstract) forms created with letters written in a small size are called ‘*ornamental micrographic forms*’ (see Appendice, Scheme 1). I shall call figurative (i.e. somehow recognizable) forms made of very small-sized minuscule letters ‘*figurative micrographic forms*’. The ‘alphabetical’ (i.e. scriptural) Masorah uses Masoretic notes to write another text in the shape of a word.²⁰ With regard to its layout, a micrographical form can be confined to a margin, cover an entire carpet page, or be located in an initial-word panel (often at the beginning of a book), or colophons.²¹

When a biblical Hebrew manuscript contains micrographic elements, the layout of the Masorah is altered.²² If the textual content of the micrographic element does correspond to Masoretic notes, we talk about an ornamental (micrographic) Masorah or figurative (micrographic) Masorah. In other words, a figurative Masorah (also translated as *Masora Figurata*) combines the art of writing with figurative patterns and a Masoretic content.

Ornamental and figurative Masorah became a special attribute of Ashkenazic and Sephardic manuscripts in the beginning of the 13th century.²³ This scribal practice was widespread enough during Juda he-Hassid’s (1150–1217) lifetime to incur his condemnation.²⁴ Yet, the figurative or ornamental Masorah found in Sephardic manuscripts

defines the term *Masora Figurata* as “the practice of having the minute letters form the shape of subjects (which are not necessarily related to text)”. Metzger 1986 designates *micrography* as nothing more than a very small minuscule script (i.e. a technique). Halperin 2013, 5 speaks of micrography when the contours of a text written in minuscule script evokes various visual designs.

¹⁸ Fronda 2013, 46.

¹⁹ Beit-Arié 2003, 68–69.

²⁰ See Case 1 and 13 of my edition. I thank the participants of the Conference held in Heidelberg on “Text-Image Relationship and Visual Elements in Written Hebrew Sources” for having shared their thoughts with me about how to address this phenomenon. The reader will note that Ginsburg uses the expression “alphabetical Masorah” to designate the “alphabetical *Masora Finalis*” that Adonyah compiled in alphabetical order at the end of his edition, see Ginsburg 1897, 194 and 969.

²¹ See for instance the colophon of MS Vat. Ebr. 14 (Appendix 2).

²² See Prologue.

²³ Garel 1978; Metzger 1986.

²⁴ Gutmann 1983, 49.

did not obscure their philological Masoretic content.²⁵ In the case of Ashkenazic manuscripts, however, the matter seems more complex.²⁶

Why Edit Figurative Masorah?

This book aims to answer the two following questions: a) what is the philological link between Masorah produced in Ashkenaz and the Masorah (understood as an apparatus) of the eastern standard Tiberian codices, which was written according to the oldest available sources, and b), do the ornamental and figurative micrographic elements produced in the Ashkenazic context point to a loss of Masoretic knowledge, or can they be seen to constitute accurate and comprehensive Masoretic notes? Did their form distort their semantic content?

Not only has Hebrew micrography not been inventoried,²⁷ but there are no typologies of medieval biblical manuscripts.²⁸ This means that it is not possible to assess whether micrographic forms really constituted an impediment to the transmission of the biblical Masorah in Ashkenazic communities. This critical edition is the first significant step taken to address this issue. This book provides an edition of figurative micrographic Masorah from one of the oldest Ashkenazic manuscripts, i.e., the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 copied by Elijah ben Berechiah ha-Naqdan in 1239. This edition should be considered as an experimental case study, a trial in itself. To this day, no one has edited figurative Masorah. Even C. Ginsburg in his monumental Masorah has never elaborated on the lists coming from Ashkenazic, Sephardic, Yemenite and eastern manuscripts.²⁹ It is only very recently, that D. Halperin edited micrographical carpet pages from the Catalan Mahzor and called for further research in this field.³⁰ The biblical manuscript I have chosen to work on is the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 (hereafter Vat14).

Elijah ha-Naqdan copied this Pentateuch with Five Scrolls and Haftaratot in 1239, in an unknown region of northern France.³¹ The manuscript is dedicated to a patron, R. Asher, unlike the MS Or. Quart. 9 (hereafter B), which was also copied by Elijah. Vat14 is a medium-sized codex. It is one of the oldest preserved Ashkenazic manuscripts to

²⁵ See for instance the edition of the MS M1 at the Complutense University Library of Madrid, which contains several instances of ornamental and figurative Masorah.

²⁶ An Ashkenazic codex of the 14th century (MS Erfurt 1) prompted one scholar to speak of ‘semantische Verfremdung’, Liss 2012, 22.

²⁷ See above.

²⁸ Goshen-Gottstein 1963; Stern 2012; Khan 2012, 7–8; Kogel 2014.

²⁹ See his lists of manuscripts, Ginsburg 1897, 1029. C. Ginsburg’s monumental work does not mention the exact provenance of each list he edits and if some of them were edited from micrographical forms.

³⁰ Halperin 2013. The contents of the micrographical carpets in this Mahzor are not Masoretic.

³¹ For the practical use of Vat14, see Attia 2015.

be explicitly dated,³² and the oldest to present an extensive series of sixty-four figurative Masorah, including the representation of human beings.³³ My recent codicological and paleographical analysis of these two manuscripts³⁴ confirmed that both of these codices show evidence of professional thirteenth-century handwork in a northern French ‘Gothic’ script, which was possibly related to the Anglo-Norman type.³⁵ Although both codices only include the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls and Haftarat,³⁶ their philological features are not exactly the same, which is a sign that they may have been copied from different sources and for different purposes.³⁷

The scribe’s cultural context can therefore then be identified as either Anglo-Norman or northern French with lingering Anglo-Norman influences.³⁸ Little is known of Elijah himself other than the fact that he copied, vocalized, and added the Masorah to two manuscripts (B and Vat14), producing B in 1233 in RDWM³⁹ (possibly Rouen)⁴⁰ and Vat14 in 1239.⁴¹ His father, Berechiah ben Netronai ha-Naqdan, was identified as a prolific scholar who travelled between Normandy and England during the second half of the 12th century and had knowledge of Abraham Ibn Ezra’s works.⁴² There is

³² See above.

³³ See the list of figurative forms, Appendix 2.

³⁴ See Appendices 2 and 3, Hebrew script.

³⁵ There is a definition of the Ashkenazic type of script in Sirat 1976. However, work still needs to be done on the specific local paleographical features of Ashkenazic manuscripts produced in France, England and Germany. Most of the oldest dated sources we have are from northern France, see Sirat 1973–1974, Sirat 1991; Sed-Rajna 1997. The English type of script persisted until the expulsion of the Jews from England (1290), and looks rather similar to the thirteenth-century Norman type (esp. MS Vat. Ebr. 468 and MS Vat. Ebr. 14), see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, esp. 117–118, 126–128. See also Engel 2010 and 2014.

³⁶ Although these Bibles seem liturgical because of their contents, it is worth remembering that no typology of biblical manuscripts has been established (see above n. 28). The Haftarat are additional parts of the Prophets and the Five Scrolls that were read on various festive occasions: the Song of Songs was read in Public on Pesach, the Book of Ruth on Shavuot, the Book of Ecclesiastes on Sukkot, the Book of Esther on Purim and Lamentations on the ninth of Av.

³⁷ See Attia (forthcoming).

³⁸ The two cultures cannot really be differentiated before 1066, when Normandy Jews went to England, following in the footsteps of William the Conqueror. Normandy and England were part of the same kingdom until 1204. Roth 1941, 1–5; Nahon 1975; Nahon 2011, 31.

³⁹ See Appendix 3.

⁴⁰ The identification of RDWM has long been a matter for debate, most recently between Golb 1998, 326–327 and Werner 2002, 22–23. N. Golb argues that Rouen stands for RDWM. G. Nahon reassessed this interpretation and formulated the hypothesis that it stood for Dormans (in the Marne), see Nahon 2011, 36. Nevertheless, not everyone agrees that the Jewish scribe never called a town by its Latin name. See Jacobs 1893, 263; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014a, 118, on the name of Moses of Lyon (משה דלאכדנה).

⁴¹ See Appendix 2.

⁴² Jacobs 1893, 263. Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) is considered to have been in England circa 1158, and to have met R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) and the Tossafist, R. J. Tam during an earlier journey to northern France.

also a scholarly reference to Berechiah ha-Naqdan in the *Sefer Ha-Shoham*, by Moshe ben Isaac ha-Nessiyah, a thirteenth-century English grammarian.⁴³ In several of his colophons, Elijah evokes the contributions his father made to the fields of grammar, biblical exegesis,⁴⁴ Hebrew translation (Fox Fables called *Mishlei Shu'alim*), ethics and science (he paraphrased Adelard of Bath's *Questiones Naturales*, wrote a book on Physics and Philosophy, and translated a lapidarium into Hebrew).⁴⁵ Born to an aged Berechiah,⁴⁶ Elijah was arguably a talented professional scribe and a learned scholar in his own right.

Critical Editions of Masoretic Notes

It has been demonstrated elsewhere that there are many factors preventing the production of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁷ As such editions concentrate on the consonantal biblical text, the notes compiled in the Masorah are generally not in the focus of critical editions.⁴⁸

Six major biblical editions include an edited Masorah. Adonyah's edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524–1525) was the first of its kind to provide a consonantal text and a Masoretic apparatus (MP, MM and MF), which became a *textus receptus*.⁴⁹ The second edition was the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), where the consonantal text of the Leningrad Codex (hereafter L) is edited and where G. Weil provides a “fully corrected and normalized realization of the Masorah”, which means a clear reconstruction.⁵⁰ The third one was the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (BHQ): contrary to the BHS, it reproduces the *Masora Parva* and *Magna* of L, but without providing any critical apparatus.⁵¹ This diplomatic edition recognizes that L's Masoretic notes have their “deficiencies” while nevertheless refusing to correct them.⁵² The fourth one was the *Hebrew University Bible*, which provides a descriptive edition. It includes the biblical text of the Aleppo Codex (or what remains of it) with four apparatuses, bearing

⁴³ Roth 1949, 45, 48–50; Golb 1998, 334.

⁴⁴ Preserved in fragments and for instance in Ms. Cambridge, CUL, Dd. 8.53 (see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 300).

⁴⁵ See Steinschneider 1873; Jacobs 1890a, 1890b, 1893, 1890c; Neubauer 1890a, 1890b; Golb 1998, 324–347; Serfaty 1997, 48; Freudenthal 2009, 106 and ff. The Fox Fables have been edited by Haberman 1946. On his two ethical treatises, see Gollancz 1902.

⁴⁶ See the mention “son of his old age” in the colophons, Appendix 2.

⁴⁷ Schenker/Hugo 2005, 22–27.

⁴⁸ See the monumental work of Ginsburg 1880.

⁴⁹ Penkower 1983.

⁵⁰ BHQ, Introduction, vol. 18, XI. Only the MP is published in the BHS, whereas the MM has been compiled in Weil 1961.

⁵¹ A critical apparatus for the Masorah would have required more than one volume.

⁵² BHQ, Introduction, vol. 18, XI.

witness to the diversity of the biblical text, and a Masorah without an apparatus which is comprised of the MP and MM of the Aleppo Codex.⁵³ The fifth, and probably the finest, is the Cairo Prophets' Codex edition.⁵⁴ This edition presents the MP alongside the biblical text (*rafim* included), and includes separate volumes with the MM, the *hapax legomena* and an analytical index on the MP.⁵⁵ In addition, D. Lyons has published a facsimile critical edition of the cumulative Masorah in the same codex.⁵⁶ Lastly, the sixth one is the M1's edition, which only includes the *lemmas* (unvocalized and unaccented) and their Masoretic notes (MP/MM).⁵⁷ The critical notes to this edition only call attention to the text's most significant deviations from the eastern Tiberian manuscripts. However, there are very few such differences, as M1 is considered to be a good representative of the standard Tiberian Masorah.

Within a field of research where many late medieval manuscripts still remain unedited, the construction of critical apparatuses may contribute "to bear out our conclusions pertaining to the study of the Bible text".⁵⁸ That is why a complete edition of the vocalized consonantal biblical text of Vat. Ebr. 14 (Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Haftarat, i.e. 292 folios), together with its vocalized Targum⁵⁹ and all its Masoretic notes, as well as a critical apparatus, was originally planned. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to undertake the vast amount of work this would have required in the time allotted to this project. As a result, this book only provides an edition of the micrographical Masorah found in thirteen folios from the Book of Exodus. I shall publish the rest of the manuscript in the future.

Structure of the Edition

I have chosen to focus this edition on all the folios from the Book of Exodus that include at least one figurative Masorah (13 folios). My main reason for focusing my philological analysis on the Masoretic notes to Exodus which are found in Vat14,

⁵³ Schenker/Hugo 2005, 17.

⁵⁴ Dotan 1986. One of the best solutions for editing Masoretic texts is to "reproduce one single manuscript with complete fidelity to the original including vocalization and punctuation", see Ortega Monasterio/Gomez Aranda 2002, 231–232.

⁵⁵ Pérez Castro 1980; Dotan 1986; Ortega Monasterio 1995; Fernández Tejero 1995; Azcárraga Servert 1997.

⁵⁶ Lyons 1999.

⁵⁷ See Azcárraga Servert 2001; Ortega Monasterio 2002; Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2002; Martín-Contreras 2004; Fernández Tejero 2004; Azcárraga Servert 2004.

⁵⁸ See Goshen-Gottstein 1995, xii. What is true for editions of early Oriental codices is also true for editions of late medieval codices.

⁵⁹ I thank my colleague Johanna Tanja for letting me know that no extensive work has been done on the Targum Onqelos provided by Ashkenazic manuscripts.

rather than on the Book of Genesis, where there are more cases of figurative Masorah, is that this offers the possibility of comparing Vat14 with three major eastern Tiberian codices (O, D, L), whereas Genesis would only allow a comparison with L. The selected folios always include a regular Masorah in the upper margin and a figurative Masorah in the lower margin. Instead of only editing the figurative parts of the Masorah, I chose to work on the folio as a whole, in order to understand the behavior of the scribe.⁶⁰ Another reason for this choice is that some regular Masoretic notes begin in the upper margin and continue in the lower margin, where the figurative section of the Masorah is located.

The fact that the Ashkenazic Masorah has not yet been fully studied and is not well understood makes it difficult to trace a potential Ashkenazic Masoretic tradition. Although Ashkenazic Masoretic notes may have been copied from different sources than the consonantal texts, I consider them to belong to the same Ashkenazic Masoretic tradition and deal with both. This edition reduces the biblical text to a word (the *lemma*) and to the notes that accompany it. In other words, my critical apparatus focuses on both biblical lemmas and Masoretic notes, in order to see if they tally with each other. However, the eastern standard Tiberian sources remaining rather incomplete (L is the only very old complete Bible preserved with all its components), and it was only possible to compare the Masoretic notes from identical biblical passages.⁶¹ Although I am in the process of testing and comparing the entirety of the notes in each manuscript, in this edition, I only focus on selected passages.

Finally, I chose to present the lemmas and their notes according to the order of the Hebrew verses rather than according to the order in which they appeared on the page.

Editorial Steps for Masoretic Micrographical Notes

Micrographical figurative Masorah have never been edited before, I devised a specific methodology inspired by the work of D. Halperin.⁶²

Here is the methodology I followed:

1. Identify the figurative Masorah located inside Vat14, which contains vast ornamental micrographic elements.

⁶⁰ For example, I wanted to know if Elijah's additions of figurative Masorah modified the content of the Masorah.

⁶¹ In other words, I checked the 13 folios of Vat14 against the corresponding folios in O, D, L, M, V, R and B (i.e. in 91 folios).

⁶² Halperin 2013, esp. 5–21.

The resulting inventory shows that Vat14 includes 64 figurative micrographical elements and 11 simple drawings. The figurative Masorah are distributed as follows: 21 in Genesis, 12 in Exodus, 4 in Leviticus, 8 in Numbers, and 19 in Deuteronomy.⁶³

2. Localize the lemma through the *circellus* (if available) and its relevant MP, or attribute each MP note to one lemma.

While manuscripts O, D, L, M, V and R are consistent on this matter, the manuscripts of ha-Naqdan are less consistent, which can make it difficult to attribute the Masoretic notes to a lemma.

3. Transcribe the lemma and its MP.

Because a MP note always originally refers to a lemma, I have decided to reproduce each lemma as it appears in Vat14—i.e., fully vocalized and fully accented (including the *circellus* and the *rafim*, even if these elements are rather inconsistent).⁶⁴

4. Localize the relevant MM while deciphering and transcribing the textual elements of each figurative form.⁶⁵

As is generally the case, the MM is connected to a MP or a lemma from the central text. B contains some figurative forms; however, their location and text do not match those of Vat14 (see Appendix 3). There are a few small-scale instances of legible ornamental Masorah to be found in V. R offers some isolated figurative forms and an alphabetical Masorah (which forms the colophon) at the end.⁶⁶ L, O, and D do not contain ornamental or figurative forms in Exodus.⁶⁷ O (and to a lesser degree D) presents a regular cumulative Masorah in its margins, and the MM is confined to the lower margins.⁶⁸ M1 does have some ornamental and figurative Masorah, which according to E. Contreras-Martín, were used to elaborate the abundant Masoretic material.⁶⁹

5. Mark each segment of a Masoretic list located inside a visual figurative form with arrows and captions (1, 2, 3, etc.) according to the biblical verse order.⁷⁰ The captions (I, II, III, etc.) refer to illegible or unidentified material.

⁶³ See Appendix, Description 1.

⁶⁴ Only the Cairo Prophets edition proposes to edit the *rafim*. Rather than editing this diacritical mark, the other current editions simply omit it, which requires further research. On the inconsistency of the *rafim*, see Yeivin 1980, 286–287. For example, in Vat14, on הָיָה (Ex. 13 :16), this apparatus would be = D V ~ O הָיָה לְהָיָה בְּהָיָה where the *rafe* on the *heh* is a contra-*mappiq* and the *rafe* on the *dalet* or *khaf* is a contra-*dagesh*. In view of this, our apparatus on the lemmas does not include variants of the *rafim* and *circellus*.

⁶⁵ The software I used to perform these tasks was *Adobe Pro*. I thank Sebastian Seemann for his help.

⁶⁶ See f. 555r, and Sirat 1994, 30–31 (fig. 12). For ‘alphabetical Masorah’ expression, see above n. 20.

⁶⁷ For ornamental Masorah in L, see MPMA I, Ms. 17.

⁶⁸ The cumulative Masorah is composed of lists of *hapax* and pairs of words. See for example D. Lyons 1999.

⁶⁹ See M1, ff. 22r, 24r, 33v; Ortega-Monasterio 2002, 229–231; Elvira Contreras-Martín’s lecture on “The Image to the Service of the Text: Ornamental Masorah in the Manuscript 118-Z-42 (M1) from the Complutense University Library” at the Xth EAJS Congress, Paris, 22d July 2014.

⁷⁰ The software I used for this was *Adobe Illustrator*.

Some figurative forms contain several notes on different lemmas, without following the order of the lemmas and the biblical text. In order to indicate this material construction, I have used arrows to highlight decipherable lists⁷¹ and to show how to read the notes located inside the ornamental or figurative Masorah.⁷²

6. Edit the lemma, the MP and the MM or textual elements using editorial software.⁷³ Each note in the MP or MM has been transcribed as it appears in the manuscript Vat14 and connected with the biblical term to which it belongs (the lemma). The MP or MM note generally begins with a short codified explanation of the Masoretic problem.⁷⁴ These parts are sometimes translated into English at the end of the section when they are complex. In the MM, the *simanim* have been systematically identified.

7. Compare the notes with those of other manuscripts or with other sources if the note is unknown.

Each lemma, MP or MM note was systematically compared with:

- a) available Ben Asher eastern Tiberian sources on Exodus. G. Weil's edition of the *Masora Magna* was used to perform this task, as it was a guiding tool for identifying some of the Masoretic notes.
- b) those found in other Ashkenazic manuscripts on Exodus.

When there was no record in any of the manuscripts included in my apparatus of a note found in Vat14, I tried to identify it in the lists found in *Sefer Okhlah*,⁷⁵ Frensdorff's *Die Massora Magna*,⁷⁶ and Ginsburg's edition of the Masorah.⁷⁷

8. Edit the above-mentioned comparisons in the critical apparatus located in footnotes.

Circellus and *rafim* variants are not reported in the critical apparatus. Neither are slight changes in the order or wording of the *simanim*. Each entry has three notes corresponding to the lemma in the central text of Vat14, its MP, and its MM. Some comments and translations are provided in the footnotes to each section.

9. Review and proofread the edition.

⁷¹ In this edition, see Other Texts, Illegible Text. These sections may also constitute unidentified material.

⁷² See Remarks to the Reader.

⁷³ On account of technical difficulties, *Classical Text Editor* was not used.

⁷⁴ Hyvernât 1902; Elliger/Rudolph 1977; Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 243 and ff.

⁷⁵ Frensdorff 1864; Díaz Esteban 1975; Ognibeni 1992 and 1995.

⁷⁶ Frensdorff 1876.

⁷⁷ Ginsburg 1880.

The Manuscripts of the Critical Apparatus

The philological perspective adopted in this edition explores the function of textualization in the figurative forms of Ashkenazic Masorah. The apparatus was built from a comparison between a few important eastern Tiberian Codices (MS Or. 4445, the Leningrad Codex, the Damascus Pentateuch, MS M1)⁷⁸ and the later Ashkenazic tradition, as represented by Vat14⁷⁹ especially, but also MS Or. Quart. 9⁸⁰ (the other manuscript copied by Elijah ha-Naqdan), MS Valmadonna 1⁸¹ (the oldest Ashkenazic Bible with links to the same cultural area than the two I have just mentioned) and the MS Vat. Ebr. 482 (the second La Rochelle Bible). The Hebrew text of O, D and L was used in recent editions.⁸² The Hebrew text of Vat. Ebr. 482 has only been used in G. B. Kennicott's purely consonantal edition at the end of the 18th century, while the Targum of Vat. Ebr. 14 was used by A. Berliner in 1884.⁸³ Although we are aware that these philological comparisons are based on remnant manuscripts which are most likely of a different nature (model codex, popular Bible, or liturgical Bible),⁸⁴ the variants that could emerge from these comparisons may help to differentiate them and build a typology of Bibles in a second phase of research.

A/ Standard Tiberian Sources: O, D, L and M

In terms of the eastern sources, I examined the four eastern codices that define the standard Tiberian tradition:⁸⁵ the Leningrad Codex, Cairo Codex,⁸⁶ Aleppo Codex,⁸⁷ and MS BL Or. 4445. Only two of these manuscripts display available folios on the Book of Exodus: the Leningrad Codex and Or. 4445. I had access to digitized images and facsimile editions of these manuscripts.⁸⁸ In addition to this corpus, I examined

78 For practical reasons, we were unable to include the other biblical manuscripts kept at the Russian National Library. See Beit-Arié 1993a, 111–128, esp. 111–112 and BHQ, vol. 18, lxxviii.

79 High definition (300 dpi) images provided by the Vatican Library.

80 High definition (600 dpi) images provided by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

81 Images provided by the IHMH Jerusalem, courtesy of the Valmadonna Trust.

82 See above. MS Or. 4445 was also used in Ginsburg's edition, see Ginsburg 1897, 1029.

83 See Cod. 242, 486 and 611 in Kennicott 2003 [1776–1780], 90, 102, 107. De Rossi's edition focuses on most of the Kennicott manuscripts that present variants, see De Rossi 1784–1788 (–1798); Richler 2014 [1992], Appendix I, No. 22, 265–282. For the Targum of Vat14, see Berliner 1884, 250.

84 Further codicological and paleographical studies are needed, as well as a typology of Hebrew codices in the Middle Ages.

85 Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 23–24, 32–33; Dotan 1993, 39.

86 On the Cairo Codex: MPMA I, MS No. 1. Dotan 1986.

87 On the Aleppo Codex: MPMA I, MS No. 6.

88 Beck et al. 1998. Images of Or. 4445 were provided by the British Library.

the Damascus Pentateuch (hereafter D)⁸⁹ as well as M1 of the Complutense University Library,⁹⁰ a Sephardic manuscript which is considered to be a good representative of the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition and was contemporary to Vat14.⁹¹ Here is a brief description of each one of these eastern sources:

- *MS St. Petersburg, National Library, Evr I B19^a, from the first collection of Firkovitch [Leningrad Codex], (L)*

This is the most well-known and complete ancient manuscript of the Hebrew Bible.⁹² It was copied in the East/Orient and its colophon is dated 1008/9. Contemporary biblical editions of the Bible (the BHS and BHQ, for example) are based on this manuscript. Recently, a complete description of this document was made available.⁹³ It is one of the most popular and widely-used biblical codices today, along with the Aleppo Codex.⁹⁴

- *MS London, British Library, Or. 4445, (O)*

The manuscript is missing its original beginning and ending, as well as a few isolated folios.⁹⁵ Only the text from Gen 39:20 to Deut 1:33 has been preserved. Its Oriental script suggests it may have been written in Persia in the 9th or 10th century. According to Aron Dotan, the scribe was Nissi ben Daniel ha-Cohen.⁹⁶ The codex contains well-known annotations quoting a living R. Ben Asher (“*melamed ha-gadol Ben Asher*”) who has been identified as Aaron Ben Asher.⁹⁷ The dates of the consonantal text and one of the Masoretic apparatuses are currently being debated. Some scholars agree with D. Ginsburg that the consonantal text could predate the 10th century⁹⁸ while its Masorah could have been written a century later, at the time of Aaron ben Asher.⁹⁹ However, following in the footsteps of P. Kahle and I. Yeivin, Dotan argues that the annotations mentioning Ben Asher’s name postdate the Masorah. This unedited codex allows us to “peep into the early stages of Masoretic practice”¹⁰⁰ and 20% of its

⁸⁹ Löwinger 1978. One of the earliest Masoretic codices, see below.

⁹⁰ Ortega Monasterio 2002. A few chapters from the Book of Exodus are nevertheless missing from M (9:34 to 24:7).

⁹¹ Ginsburg 1897, 906; Fernández Tejero 2000 and 2004, XVIII–XIX.

⁹² Beck et al. 1998.

⁹³ Beit-Arié et al. 1997, Ms No. 17, 114–131.

⁹⁴ Goshen-Gottstein 1963, esp. 101–102. According to Israeli researchers, the Aleppo Codex was considered to be the original ‘model’ codex to which Maimonides refers in *Mishne Torah*. See Goshen-Gottstein 1960.

⁹⁵ Dukan 2006, 296. The lost folios were replaced by a Yemenite scribe in the 16th century.

⁹⁶ Dotan 1993, esp. 48–50. Ofer 2015.

⁹⁷ Dotan 1993, esp. 41, 43–44. Dotan argues that the mentions of Ben Asher’s name constitute later additions.

⁹⁸ Some of its codicological features are very ancient: there is no double dot at the end of the verses, for example.

⁹⁹ Dukan 2006, 296–297.

¹⁰⁰ Dotan 1993, 41.

Masoretic notes are from the school of Ben Naftali.¹⁰¹ There are a few sample studies of this manuscript¹⁰² and an edition is being planned.¹⁰³ It is used in the BHQ (as M^B) for variants of the consonantal text.

- *MS Jerusalem, JNUL 24°5702 [or MS Sassoon 507, called the Damascus Pentateuch], (D)*

According to M. Beit-Arié,¹⁰⁴ it dates from the 10th century. I. Yeivin established a comparison between the Masorahs found in D and the Aleppo Codex, and this led him to suggest that some of D's Masoretic notes were vocalized and accentuated according to the Babylonian system.¹⁰⁵ This unedited manuscript is quoted in the BHQ's apparatus (as M^{S5}) and remains of great interest.¹⁰⁶ Although O and D have not been edited as such, they were used along with L to prepare the edition of the BHS (especially its Masorah), even if there is no clear mention of these manuscripts in this edition.¹⁰⁷

- *MS Madrid, Complutense University Library, 118-Z-42 [M1], (M)*

M is kept at the Library of the Complutense University of Madrid. This Sephardic Hebrew manuscript from the second half of the 13th century is generally attributed to the Toledo School. Several codicological descriptions are available, but its origins remain unclear.¹⁰⁸ The codex was the property of Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros and was used to prepare the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* printed in 1520. The BHQ refers to it as M^M in its apparatus. Spanish scholars are currently editing its entire Masorah.¹⁰⁹

B/ Ashkenazic Sources Compared with Vat14: V, R and B

The three Ashkenazic manuscripts to be compared with Vat14 in the critical apparatus are the MSS Or. Quart. 9 (B), Valmadonna 1 (V) and the Vat. Ebr. 482 (R). The reader will find a detailed description of Vat14 in the Appendix.¹¹⁰ Here is a brief description of all the manuscripts used in the critical apparatus:

¹⁰¹ Wurthwein/Fischer 2014, 42.

¹⁰² Ramirez 1929, 1930 and 1933; Goshen-Gottstein 1963, 689.

¹⁰³ See Dotan 1993.

¹⁰⁴ Beit-Arié 1993a; Sassoon 1932, 22–23, n. 507; see also the Introduction to the facsimile by Löwinger 1978, 9.

¹⁰⁵ Yeivin 1968, esp. 321–322.

¹⁰⁶ I thank A. Dotan for having approved the use of D in the present work.

¹⁰⁷ Some of the notes which Weil records in the BHS are only recorded in O and D. See also Kelley et al. 1998.

¹⁰⁸ Ginsburg 1897, 771–776. del Barco 2003, Ms. 1, 109–112. I thank Javier del Barco for suggesting that the codex may possibly have originated in Aragon and Catalonia instead of Toledo, in Castile.

¹⁰⁹ See *infra*, footnote 57. The manuscript is available on-line.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 2.

- *MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1, (V)*

The oldest Ashkenazic manuscript included in the critical apparatus is the MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1. This important manuscript is the oldest Bible identified as coming from northern Europe and Ashkenaz.¹¹¹ It was produced in 1189, either in England or in Normandy.¹¹² Like Vat14, this very large parchment manuscript¹¹³ is comprised of a Pentateuch with the Aramaic translation following the Hebrew verse by verse and Masoretic notes (MP and MM). It has sustained severe damage, and the text has been only partially preserved and is sometimes illegible.¹¹⁴ The upper margin of the manuscript was trimmed, and some lines of the *Masora Magna* have been lost as a result: however, it seems that these Masoretic notes were reduced to one or two lines of text, instead of spreading over two or three lines as in other manuscripts.¹¹⁵ Despite the paleographical and codicological importance of this manuscript, which contains the first traces of the biblical tradition in northern Europe, its Masorah has not yet been edited or studied.

- *MS Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 482, (R)*

This manuscript is a very large parchment codex, which contains the Pentateuch with the Targum in its external margins, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, including in each case their vocalization, accentuation and Masorah.¹¹⁶ Hayim ben Isaac copied it in La Rochelle in 1216,¹¹⁷ according to a later Latin annotation which mentions the Jewish year 975.¹¹⁸ The same scribe had already completed another manuscript—the MS Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 468—for his master Solomon ben Joseph ha-Kohen on the 6th of Tishri 4976 [1215] in La Rochelle.¹¹⁹ Unlike Vat. Ebr. 468, Vat. Ebr. 482 was not lavishly decorated by a later hand, and its Masorah remains legible.

- *MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Quart. 9, (B)*

B is very closely related to Vat14 from a codicological and paleographical point of view,¹²⁰ as both were written by the scribe. B is a very small parchment Bible,¹²¹ copied by Elijah ha-Naqdan in Rouen (RDWM) in 1233. It contains the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls and Haftarat, accompanied by the Targum.¹²² Some of the figurative forms

¹¹¹ MPMA IV, MS No. 85; Beit-Arié 1993b, 238–242; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238–242; Schrijver 1989.

¹¹² Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238.

¹¹³ Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 71.

¹¹⁴ Available text: Gen 45:13–47:5 and Gen 50:6 to Num 31:3; see MPMA IV, MS No. 82.

¹¹⁵ This idea of a ‘reduced’ *Masora Magna* seems to be attested by the presence of graphic signs used to fill the blank space left in some lines.

¹¹⁶ Sirat 1994, Ill. 12, 30; Richler 2008, 417–418; Attia 2014.

¹¹⁷ See f. 555r, the name of the town La Rochelle is written in the alphabetical Masorah (בלרוקליא).

¹¹⁸ See f. 555v.

¹¹⁹ Mortara Ottolenghi 1985; Richler 2008, 406.

¹²⁰ See Introduction; Steinschneider 1878, 22–23; Werner 2002; Also Appendices 2 and 3.

¹²¹ See Appendix 3. The letter size is 2 mm in the (square) main text, and less than 2 mm in the micrographical elements.

¹²² See Appendix 3; Attia 2014.

in the manuscript are very small. There are 12 such minute designs in Genesis and 16 in Deuteronomy. According to Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, their small size demonstrated the copyist's great level of skill, since small penmanship was prized as elegant and refined.¹²³ The paleographical features match Vat14, but not the philological contents, which seem to have been copied from other sources.¹²⁴

Expected Results

The comparison of Vat14 with L, O, D, M and with V, R and B will provide evidence for the following assumptions: a) standard or Ben Asher Tiberian sources had a great influence on the Ashkenazic Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan. Even if they had been transcribed in micrographic forms, most of the notes from Vat14 can be found in the oldest eastern Tiberian sources and b), the figurative Ashkenazic Masorah does not systematically create an impediment to the transmission of philological knowledge.

This edition does not attempt to provide final conclusions on Ashkenazic Masoretic traditions. What it does, however, is to lay the foundations for examining the role that a previously overlooked body of evidence played in the philological transmission of the Masorah in northern Europe, while also providing new interpretations for the material presence of figurative Masorah in Ashkenazic codices.

123 *Sefer Or Zarua of Isaac ben Moses of Vienna* 1862, § 555, 152. "Fine script is not a good thing, because it is easily erased. [The scribe] wrote in small letters in a bid for glory. It would be better if he aimed lower and made his letters slightly bigger."

124 See Attia (forthcoming).

Edition



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Editorial Rules

Sigla used in the critical apparatus:

=	the same symbol (or one with a similar meaning) is found in one or more of the other manuscripts of the apparatus ¹
<	not found in O, D, L, M, V, R or B
~	variant reading in another manuscript
Ø	no Masoretic note
[...]	missing letter, partially decipherable or reconstituted
[[...]]	missing text
[?]	unidentified letter or word
{...}	additional or repeated word
(...)	Biblical verses
	this graphic symbol separates the different elements in the data found in the critical apparatus.
	additional word inside a Masoretic list
*	a second hand has rewritten the words or the vocalization
[⌘]	truncated Hebrew letter or graphic sign on a Hebrew letter
(xxx)	commentary inside the apparatus
””	Sigla for the Tetragrammaton

Abbreviations:

Manuscripts

B	MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 9
D	Damascus Pentateuch, MS National Library of Israel (former JNUL), Jerusalem, Hebr. Quart. 5702
L	Leningrad Codex, MS St. Petersburg, National Library, Evr I B19 ^a
M	MS Complutense University Library of Madrid, 118-Z-42
O	MS British Library, Or. 4445
R	MS Vatican Library, Vat. ebr. 482
Vat14	MS Vatican Library, Vat. ebr. 14
V	MS London, Valmadonna Trust, 1

Others

BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i>
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
CM	Cumulative Masorah (CMu, CMI or CMfig, see below)

¹ This symbol means that one or more of the manuscripts either contains the same Masoretic note or another with a similar meaning. Example: the MM on ירבה (Exod 1:7). The same note is found in both Vat14 and L: although their terminology is slightly different, their meaning is the same.

Frensdorff [a number] see Frensdorff 1864

MF *Masora Finalis*

MM *Masora Magna*

MMu *Masora Magna* in the upper margin

MMl *Masora Magna* in the lower margin

MMor *Masora Magna* in an ornamental (non-representational) element²

MMfig *Masora Magna* written in a figurative (representational) element³

MP *Masora Parva*

PMH Pentateuch, Megillot (Five Scrolls), Haftarat Bible

Weil [a number] see the numbered list in Weil 1971

*Biblical Books*⁴

TORAH

Gen	Genesis
Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy

Micah	Mic
Nahum	Nah
Habakkuk	Hab
Zephaniah	Zeph
Haggai	Hag
Zechariah	Zech
Malachi	Mal

PROPHETS

Joshua	Josh
Judges	Judg
1 Samuel	1Sam
2 Samuel	2Sam
1 Kings	1Kgs
2 Kings	2Kgs
Isaiah	Isa
Jeremiah	Jer
Ezekiel	Ezek
Hosea	Hos
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obadiah	Obad
Jonah	Jonah

HAGIOGRAPHIA / WRITINGS

Psalms	Ps
Proverbs	Prov
Job	Job
Song of Song	Song
Ruth	Ruth
Lamentations	Lam
Ecclesiastes	Eccl
Esther	Esth
Daniel	Dan
Ezra	Ezra
Nehemiah	Neh
1 Chronicles	1Chr
2 Chronicles	2Chr

² Introduction, What is a Figurative Masorah?

³ See note *supra*.

⁴ According to the Leningrad Codex order (Ben-Asher, Dotan 2001, vi) and the *SBL Handbook of Style* (Alexander et al. 1999, 73).

Important Remarks to the Reader

1. For the reasons outlined above,¹ this edition examines all the Masoretic notes (MP and MM) in each folio, whether or not they are located inside a figurative form. I distinguish between Masoretic notes found in figurative and ornamental forms using the following abbreviations: 'MMfig' and 'MMor' (see the abbreviations below) plus a number (such as /1/, /2/, etc.).

Example taken from Case 1, MMor (hereafter on p. 30):

¹וַיִּשְׁבַּע Gen 50:25

²וַיִּשְׁבַּע MP

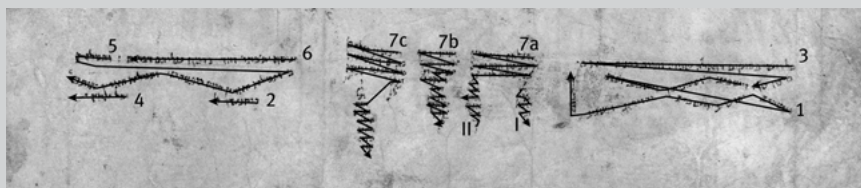
/1/ MMor וַיִּשְׁבַּע ד' וְסִימָנִהוּ³ וַיִּשְׁבַּע יוֹסֵף (Gen 50:25) וַיִּשְׁבַּע יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Josh 6:26) וַיִּשְׁבַּע
(Esra 10:5) וַיִּשְׁבַּע עֲזָרָא (2Kgs 11:4)

1 וַיִּשְׁבַּע = O D L M V R B 2 וַיִּשְׁבַּע = O D L M | ~ V רביע ראשון של תורה < B 3 וַיִּשְׁבַּע =
= D M^(only the part 1b, see Weil 1273) | ~ V רביע ראשון של תורה | < O L B R

The 'MMor /1/' note is a *Masora Magna* note located in an ornamental form, see figure No. 2, arrow 1.

2. In each figure, the Arabic numbers (1, 2, 3) juxtaposed to the arrows correspond to the numbers indicated in the edition after MMfig or MMor (MMfig /1/, /2/, /3/, etc.) Roman numbers (I, II, III) correspond to non-Masoretic notes edited at the end of the section (see the section 'Other Texts').

Example taken from Case 1, figure 1:



The 'MMor /1/' in the previous example is located in figure 1 (reproduced above), arrow 1.

The arrows 7a, 7b, 7c in this figure are related to the MMfig /7a/, /7b/, /7c/ in the edition.

3. Within the edition, the references to a footnote in Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3) correspond to the critical apparatus which is located directly under each case.

¹ See above, Structure of the Edition.

4. Within the edition, the references to a footnote in Roman numerals (i, ii, iii) correspond to comments located at the bottom of the page.
5. If a MP note has no MM, or if a MM note has no MP, the other manuscripts are mentioned in the apparatus. The apparatus always shows whether the missing note is present in other manuscripts.²
6. The critical apparatus lists the manuscripts in geo-chronological order (O, D, L, and M for the standard Tiberian Masorah / V, R and B for the Ashkenazic Tradition)

² Although a MM note on one lemma in Exodus can also occur somewhere else in the manuscripts when this lemma appears again, it was not possible to check this in the allotted time and I strictly focused my edition on the equivalent folios of Exodus. See Introduction, n. 61.

Case 1: f. 63v, Genesis 50:21–Exodus 1:10

Alphabetical Masorah (Hazaq)



Plate 1: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 63v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

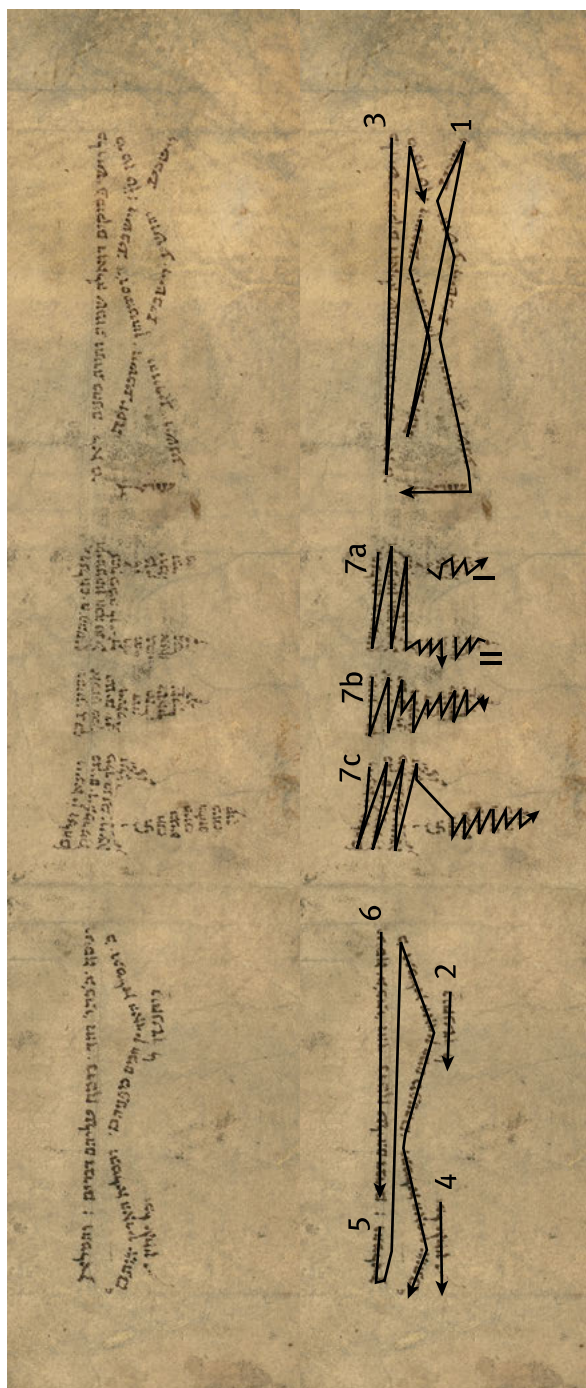


Figure 1: Case 1, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Genesis 50:21–Exodus 1:10¹

GENESIS

בְּרָכִי Gen 50:23

² לֵּי MP³ Ø MM

כל לשון ברכי דגשין בִּמְב רפיין הוא ברך ברכוהי ² [בְּרָכִי ~ M | ~ B בְּרָכִי B = O D L M V R | ~ B] בְּרָכִי ¹
על ברכי כל דגש B | O D L M V R [בְּרָכִי ³ Ø | ~ B] < O D L R B | כל לישו דשג V ~ | כרעו על ברכיהם
ברב רפ על ברכוה על ברכיהם

וְאֱלֹהִים Gen 50:24

⁵ הֵּי MP

וְאֱלֹהִים חד מן הֵּ בקריה וסימניהוֹן⁶ ויאמר יוסף אל אחיו (Gen 50:24) ויאמר שמואל אל
שאול (1Sam 28:15) וישלח אליו מלאכים (2Chr 35:21) ואלהים זולתי לא תדע (Hos 13:4)
ואלהים מלכי מקדם (Ps 74:12)

⁴ [וְאֱלֹהִים] = O M R | ~ L D V וְאֱלֹהִים B | וְאֱלֹהִים ⁵ [וְאֱלֹהִים] = O D L M R | < V B ⁶ [וְאֱלֹהִים] =
L D (without בקריה חד מן הֵּ, see Weil 371) M R | < O V B

פָּקֶדֶת Gen 50:24

⁸ דֹּסֵי MP⁹ Ø MM

⁷ [פָּקֶדֶת] ~ O D L M V R B פָּקֶדֶת פָּקֶדֶת ⁸ [פָּקֶדֶת] ~ M (only on פקד) חֵס בליש L R (only on פקד) חֵס
חֵס | D (only on פקד) חֵס | חֵס < O V B ⁹ [פָּקֶדֶת] Ø O L V R B | ~ M D R (on פקד only, see Fernández Tejero 2004, 359)

וַיִּשְׁבַּע Gen 50:25

¹¹ הֵּי MP

וַיִּשְׁבַּע /1/ וַיִּשְׁבַּע דֹּ וסימניהוֹן¹² וישבע יוסף (Gen 50:25) וישבע יהושע (Josh 6:26) וישבע
יהוידע (2Kgs 11:4) וישבע עזרא (Esra 10:5)

¹⁰ [וַיִּשְׁבַּע] = O D L M V R B ¹¹ [וַיִּשְׁבַּע] = O D L M | ~ V תורה של ו B < | רביע ראשון של תורה V ~ | ~ B
= D M (only the part 1b, see Weil 1273) | ~ V תורה של ו B < | רביע ראשון של תורה V ~ | ~ B

¹ In O, f. 42r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 99; in L, f. 31v; in M, ff. 22r–23v, see Fernández Tejero 2004, 358–360 and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 23–24; in V, ff. 3v–4r; in B, f. 34v; in R, ff. 44v–45r.

Gen 50:26 וַיַּחְנוּטוּ¹³MP ל¹⁴MMor /2/ ויחנוטו ל¹⁵

13 = O D L M V R B וַיַּחְנוּטוּ 14 D L V R ב | < O B M וַיַּחְנוּטוּ 15 B הרפאים | < O L V M R

Gen 50:26 וַיִּשָּׂם¹⁶ⁱMP ויישם ק¹⁷ⁱⁱMM ל¹⁸

16 = V B | ~ O D L R וַיִּשָּׂם 17 = V B | ~ L ומל ל | D M R ל | < O וַיִּשָּׂם 18 O D L M V R B

[Masora Finalis]

MMor /3/ כל רישי פסוקים דואלה שמות ותורת כהנים לא {בר} בר מן טו¹⁹

סכום של ספר M | סכום של ספר אלף תקל"ד D L | פד סכום הפסוקים של ספר אלף ל"ד O | B = 19
סכום פסוקי V | אלף תקל"ד וסימן אך ל"ד וחצי ועל חרבן תחיה ופרשותיו מ"ב וסדריו ארבעים ושלשה
ספר בראשית ארבע מאות ושלשים וארבע וסימנהון אך ל"ד וחצי ועל החרבן תחיה פד חלק ופרשותיו
סכום פסוקי דספרא אלף וחמש מאות ושלשים וארבעה וסימן אך ל"ד וחצי ועל חרבן R | י"ב וסדריו מ"ג
תחיה ופרשותיו י"ב וסדריו מ"ג

EXODUS

Exod 1:1 מִצְרַיִם¹MP כה²MM ל³

1 = O D L M V R B מִצְרַיִם 2 = O D L M R B | < V מִצְרַיִם 3 O D L M V R B מִצְרַיִם

Exod 1:3 יִשְׁשַׁכָּר וְבִלְלָה⁴

i The lower part of the second waw seems to have been erased.

ii Not in Cassuto 1989, 16.

MP לֹדֶס⁵MMu יששכר זבולן לֹדֶסמִיד⁶

יִד פסוק בתוך V | ~ L D R לֹדֶס [יששכר זבולן] 5 יששכר זבולן L V R M | ~ O D B = [יששכר זבולן] 4
 [יששכר זבולן] ~ B ל | < O D L M [V?] R 6 O B M | מן דֹּ מילין

Exod 1:6 וְכָל אֶחָיו⁷⁸Ø MPMMor /4/ וכל אחיו [לֹ] ⁹

< O [וְכָל אֶחָיו] 9 לֹ O D B | Ø L V M R [וְכָל אֶחָיו] 8 וְכָל אֶחָיו O D L V B M | ~ R = [וְכָל אֶחָיו] 7
 D L M V B

Exod 1:7 וְתַמְלָא¹⁰¹¹בִּי MP

MMor /5/ ותמלא בִּי¹² ותמלא הארץ חמס | מפניהםⁱⁱⁱ (Gen 6:11) ותמלא הארץ אותם
 (Exod 1:7)

< [וְתַמְלָא] 12 < O D L M V B | ~ R = [וְתַמְלָא] 11 וְתַמְלָא ~ B | ~ R = [וְתַמְלָא] 10
 O D L M V B R

Exod 1:10 נִתְחַכְמָה¹⁴¹⁵לִי MPMMu נתחכמה לִי¹⁶

[נִתְחַכְמָה] 16 < O L B | ~ R = [נִתְחַכְמָה] 16 D M V R | ~ B נתחכמה ~ B | ~ R = [נִתְחַכְמָה] 14
 < O D L V B M R

Exod 1:10 יִרְבֶּה¹⁷¹⁸Ø MP

MMu ירבה הֶ בְּקִרְיָה וְסִימְנִיהוֹן¹⁹ הִבֵּה (Exod 1:10) יֵעֲנוּ (Exod 1:12) וּבִקְרָךְ בִּי בּוּ (Deut 8:13)
 בְּרֻכּוֹת (Prov 29:16) וְכָל דֶּסְמִיד כִּי וְכִי דְכוּתִּיהָ בֵּר מִן חֵד כִּי יִרְבֶּה לְסִלּוּחַ (Isa 55:7)

הֶ וְכָל כִּי וְכִי M | הֶ וְכָל כִּי דְכוּתִּיהָ בִּי מֵאֵל D L | הֶ O B V R [יִרְבֶּה] 18 O D L V R B M [יִרְבֶּה] 17
 כּוֹתָם [יִרְבֶּה] 19 O L | ~ V (Weil 372) < D M R B

ⁱⁱⁱ This is from Gen 6:13.



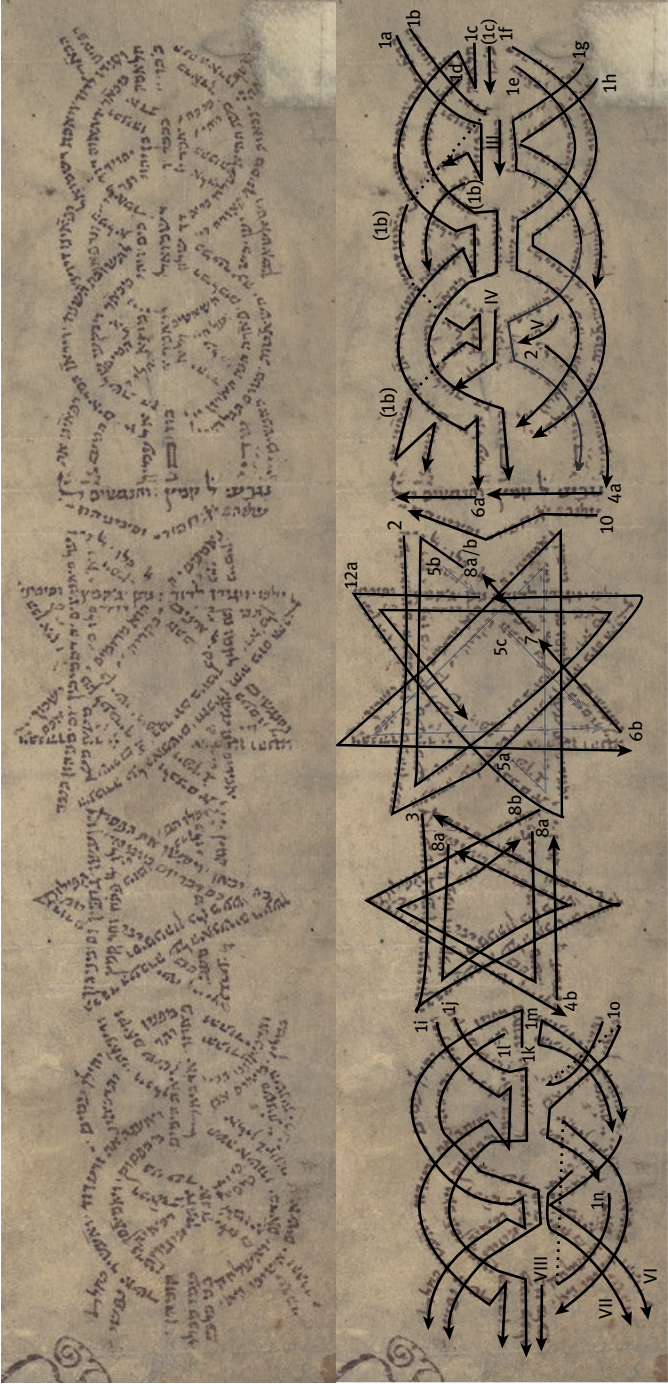


Figure 2a: Case 2, lower margin with captions

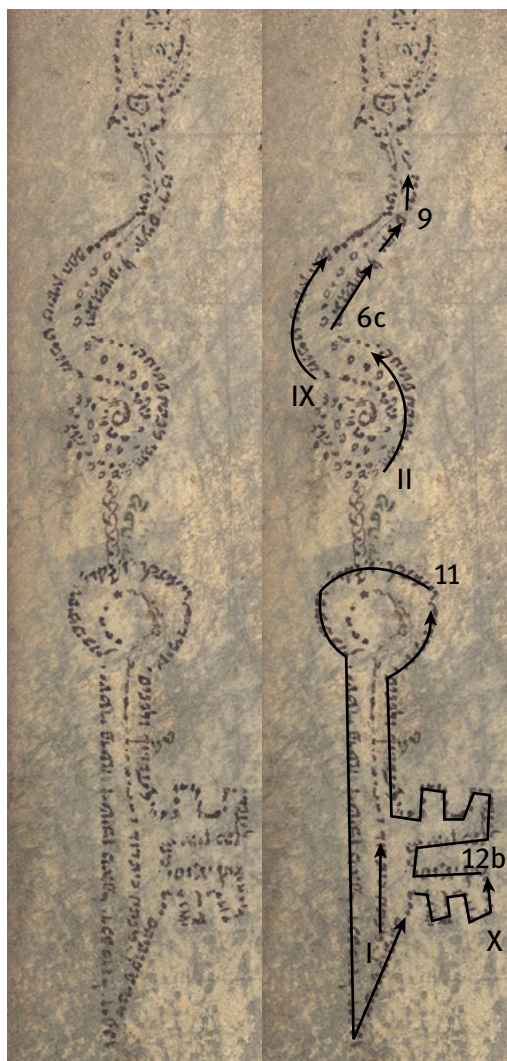


Figure 2b: Case 2, external margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 5:4–5:16¹

תִּפְרִיעֹו Exod 5:4

2 MP

3 Ø MM

1 [תִּפְרִיעֹו] = O D L M V R B 2 [תִּפְרִיעֹו] = O D V | ~ L M R ל וּמַל < B 3 [תִּפְרִיעֹו] Ø O D L M V R B

וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם Exod 5:5

5 MP

6 Ø MM

4 [וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם] = O D L M V R B 5 [וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם] = O D R | < L M V B 6 [וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם] Ø O D L M V R B

תִּסְפְּוֹן Exod 5:7

MP חד מן מִחַ לא קרי' א' ⁸ⁱⁱ

MMu חד מן מִחַ דנסבין א' במצע תיבותא ולא קריין וסימני' תַּסְפּוֹן לא תַּסְפּוֹן לתת לכם ⁱⁱⁱ
 תבן (Exod 5:7) והאספסוף ^{iv} אשר בקרבו (Num 11:4) ויאצל מן הרוח (Num 11:25) כי
 תשה ברעך משאת מאומה (Deut 24:10) מלך שמרון מראון (Josh 12:20) וישב אבימלך
 בארומה (Judg 9:4) בלאט (Judg 4:21) ותקח יעל אשת חבר הקיני (Judg 4:17) חטאים ויגידו
 לשאול למאר הנה העם חטאים (1Sam 14:33) ויאסף שאול לרא מפני (1Sam 18:29) חלאמה
 (2Sam 10:17)

[Continuing in lower margin]

1a/ MMOr הבאר ובניהו בן יהוי יהויד (Jer 51:9)/1b/ (2Sam 23:20) {רפאינו את} רפאינו
 את המים רפאתי ויצא אל מוצא המים (2Kgs 2:21) /1c/ {חלאמה ויגידו לדוד ויאסף דשמואל
 (2Sam 10:17) {המלאכים ויהי לתשובת השנה (2Sam 11:1) ויראו המראים אל עבדיך
 (2Sam 11:24) ב' בו (2Sam 11:24) /1d/ מבאר ויתאוה דוד ויאמר דשמואל (2Sam 23:15)
 מבאר ויבקע שלשת הגבורים (2Sam 23:16) /1e/ בראדך בעת ההיא שלח בראדך ⁱ
 שלח דמלכים (2Kgs 20:12) פארה הנה האדון יי /1f/ {הנה האדון יי צבאות מסעף
 פאורה במערצה (Isa 10:33) {השטות בטרם תגלה (Ezek 16:57) /1g/ [שא]טך כי כה אמר
 יי אלהי יען (Ezek 25:6) {הש} השטים ולא יהיה עוד (Ezek 28:24) /1h/ [ונאש]אר ויהי

¹ In O, ff. 45v–46r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 108–109; in L, ff. 33v–34r; in M, f. 23v–24r, and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 54; in V, ff. 8v–9r; in R, ff. 48r–48v–45r; in B, f. 37r.

ⁱ The Masoretic accent (*reviah*) is above the *rafe* of the letter *peh*.

ⁱⁱ See Weil 430 (according to MP from L quoting 4 cases) and Weil 898 (reconstituting 48 cases).

ⁱⁱⁱ להם is the expected word instead of לכם.

^{iv} This word is cut in the middle because of a hole in the parchment.

כהכות' ונאשאשין^v (Ezek 9:8) /1i/ ורצאתי ויכלו את הימים (Ezek 43:27) ואענה את זרע דוד
 (1Kgs 11:39) ואעשיר אשר קוניהן (Zech 11:5) /1j/ וקאם שאון ארבאל ב בפסוק (Hos 10:14)
 ואמאסד^{vi} נדמו עמי מבלי (Hos 4:6) /1k/ פאררר מפניו יחילו עמים (Joel 2:6) דכאת אתה
 דכאת כחלל (Ps 89:11) /1l/ {ותד} ותדכאונני עד אנה תוגיון נפשי (Job 19:2) /1m/ [למואל]
 והתוד[ה] השנית {והתוד השנית} (Neh 12:38) /1n/ בדאם ואשלחה אלין למאר (Neh 6:8)
 נשים השיבו נא (Neh 5:11) /1o/ ותדכאונני {במ'} במלין (Job 19:2) מאום אם תטה אשורי
 [vii?] (Job 31:7)

M ~ | ל מל R ~ | ל כת בן ~ | O ~ [תאספון] 8 תאספון V | תאספון O D L M R B ~ [תאספון] 7
 < L D M R | תאספון ל כת בן ~ | O^(see note vii) = [תאספון] 9 ד בת D ~ | ד ~ L ~ | ל כת בן א ורפא

Exod 5:8 צעקיים¹⁰

MP ב בתו דמי¹¹

MM¹²

| ב קול דמי D | ב וחס קול דמי L | ב OR ~ [צעקיים] 11 צעקיים ~ D L V ~ O L M R B = [צעקיים] 13
 M ~ | < B V 12 [צעקיים] O D L M V R B

Exod 5:9 על האנשים¹³

MP ה בק¹⁴

2/ MMfig על האנשים ה דסמיכין וסימניהון¹⁵ תכבד העבודה על האנשים (Exod 5:9) וחבירו
 [?] והיה ביום ההוא (Zeph 1:12/ Zeph 1:10) [ו] ילכו ויגידו לדו[י] ד^{viii} (1Chr 19:5)

על 15 < L B ~ O D M V R ~ [על האנשים] 14 על O D L M R ~ על V B(?) = [על האנשים] 13
 = D V R^(Weil 2347) < O L M B

Exod 5:9 ויעשו¹⁶

MP ג רפיין¹⁷

3/ MMfig ויעשו ג רפין וסימניהון¹⁸ תכבד העבודה על האנשים וישו בה (Exod 5:9) יבאו
 (Exod 35:10) ויעשו [בני] ישראל (Num 9:2) את הפסח (Num 9:2)

v נאשאשין is the expected word instead of ונאשאר.

vi ואמאסד is the expected word instead of ואמאסאך.

vii The last two lines remain unidentified (see VII and VIII, fig. 2). The list entails here 40 occurrences, including 3 verses repeated (2Sam 10:17, 2Sam 11:24, Isa 10:33). All the occurrences of Vat14 are listed in O, where 46 occurrences are quoting instead of 48. In Vat14 as well as in O, the lists are not full.

viii According to Weil 2347, two verses could be missing: 2Kgs 18:27; Isa 36:12.

31 $\bar{A} = \text{ODLMVRB}$ **32** $\bar{A} = \text{ODLMR} | < \text{VB}$ **33** $\bar{A} < \text{ODLMVRB}$

³³פֶּלִי Exod 5:13

34 $\dot{\mathbf{x}}_1 \approx \mathbf{z}$ MP

8a/ (twice)/ MMfig/ כלו ל פתח וחד קמץ וסימניהו³⁵ כלו מעשיכם דבר יום ביומו (Exod 5:13)
8b/ וא כלו {תפ} תפילות דוד [בן] ישי (Ps 72:20)

33 כְּלוֹ] = O D L M V R | ~ בְּלוֹ **34** כְּלוֹ] = L D M V B | < O B **35** כְּלוֹ] < O D L V R B | ~
 M (on 5:13, an alphabetical list of terms, the verses with כְּלוֹ are listed)

³⁶וַיִּכְּחֶיךָ **Exod 5:14**

³⁷[ל] ויכו /9/ MMfig= MP

38 Ø MM

36 [ויִבֹּן] = O D L M V R | ~ B ויִבֹּן **37** [ויִבֹּן] O L V R B לָּ D וחסֵּ | לָּ < M **38** [ויִבֹּן] Ø O D L M V R B

³⁹עֲלֶיהֶם Exod 5:14

 $^{40}\text{Ar}/^{39}\text{Ar}$ MP

^{41x} /10/ M Mor עליהם יג חסיר וסימניהן

39 $[עֲלֵהֶם] = O D L M R | \sim V B$ עֲלֵיהֶם 40 $[עֲלֵהֶם] \emptyset V | D L B$ חסר [ו] יג' O בתו | R M חס' בתו
 41 $[עֲלֵהֶם] < O D L^{(but Weil 675)} M V R B$

⁴²וַיַּעַקֹּב **Exod 5:15**

⁴³Ø MP

MMfig 11/ ויצעקו i בקרי וסימניהו⁴⁴ שטרי (Exod 5:15) [ו] פרעה (Exod 14:10) וישם
מאפל (Josh 24:7) רכב ברזל (Jgd 4:3) ויפנו (2Chr 13:14) ממצוקותיהם (Ps 107:6) [וחבירו
(Ps 107:28)]

42 $[\text{ויצטקו}] = \text{ODLMVRB}$ **43** $[\text{ויצטקו}] \emptyset \text{BM} | \text{ODLVR} \dot{\text{r}}$ **44** $[\text{ויצטקו}] = L^{(\text{Weil } 402)} \text{MR} | < \text{ODBV}$

x The list lacks but does not exist in the other manuscripts of our apparatus.

Exod 5:15 לְמַה תַּעֲשֶׂה⁴⁵

MP יִדְ⁴⁶

MM Ø⁴⁷

יִדְ [בזה] בטעם O D L M R [לְמַה תַּעֲשֶׂה] ~ 46 לְמַה תַּעֲשֶׂה⁴⁵ O D L M R B | < V לְמַה תַּעֲשֶׂה 45
| V בטע < B 47 [לְמַה תַּעֲשֶׂה] Ø O D L V B R | M (Weil 3948)

Exod 5:16 נְתַן⁴⁸

MP [יִקְמִצִין⁴⁹]

(Exod 5:16) נתן ג' קמץ וסימני⁵⁰ תבן אין נתן לעבדיך {ולבנים אמרים לנו עשו (Exod 5:16)
/12b/ (2Chr 28:5) ויתנהו ביד י"י אלהיו (Isa 33:16) ויתנהו ביד י"י אלהיו (Isa 33:16)
{(Exod 5:16) נתן ג' וסימני אין נתן {לעבד} לעבדיך ולבנים אמרים (Exod 5:16)}

48 [נְתַן] = O D L M V R | ~ B נְתַן 49 [נְתַן] see f. 67^{bisv} | ~ D M R יִדְ / יִדְ | < O L V B 50 [נְתַן] ~
L D M R (Weil 403) | < O V B

Other Texts

Two captions (see fig. 2):

I מפתח בית דוד (Isa 22:22)
II הנני מפתח פתוחה (Zech 3:9)

Second hand (light brown ink):

מפתח

Unidentified material (in the ornamental form, see fig. 2):

III בכבר [?] י
IV ייאמר אלהי [?]
V על חי' [?]

Illegible material: VI, VII, VIII, IX, X (see fig. 2 and 3).

xi In Vat14, f. 67^{bisv}, this MM is repeated in the upper margin.

Case 3: f. 72v, Exodus 9:34–10:8

Locusts (Exod 10:4)

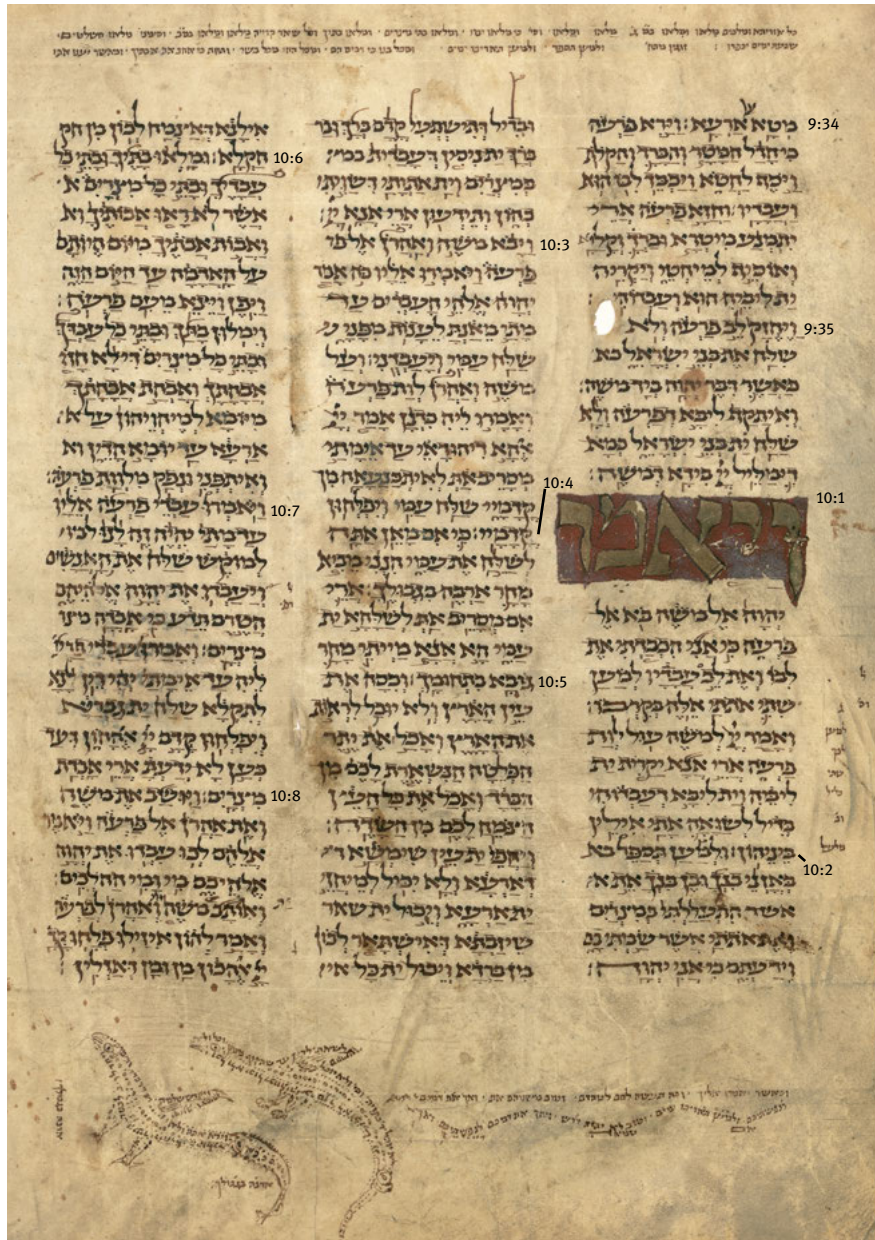


Plate 3: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 72v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

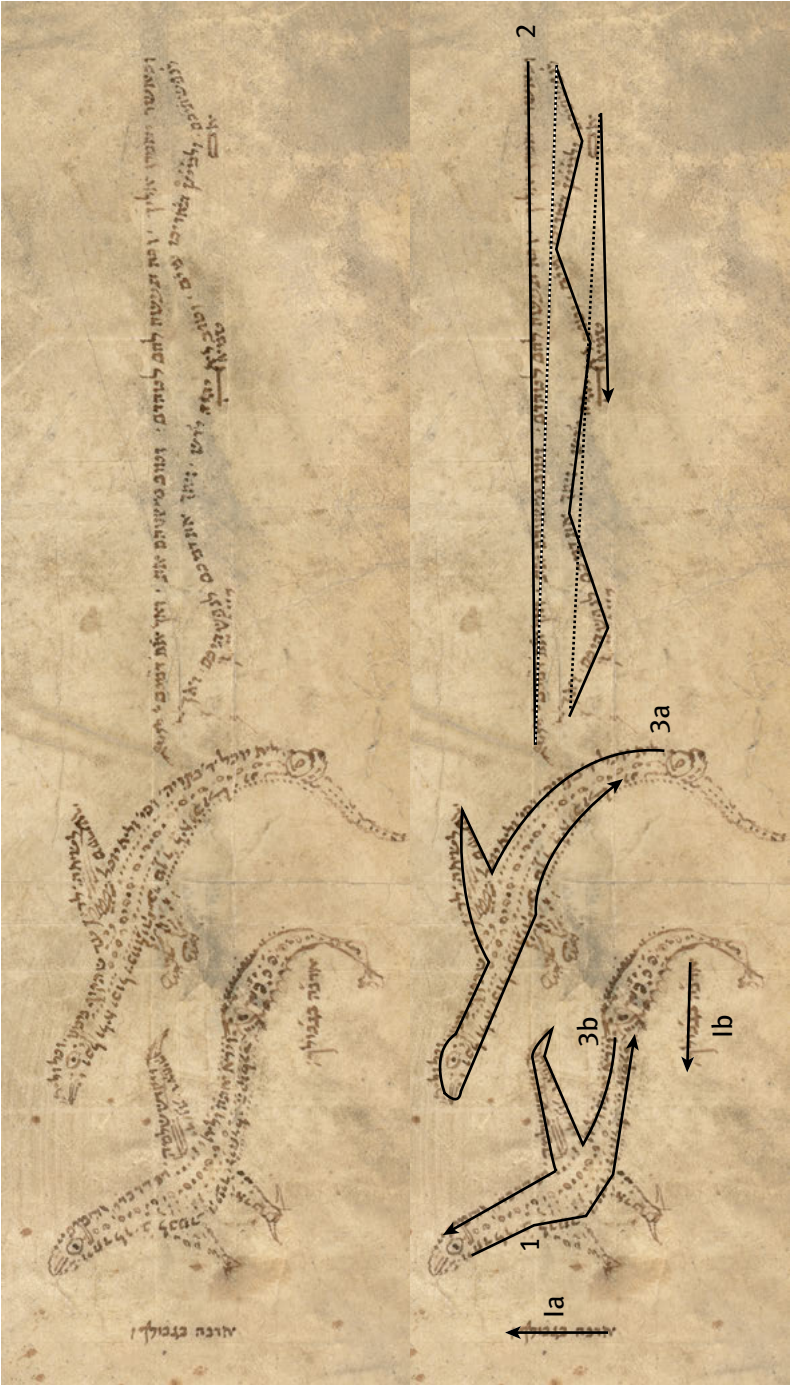


Figure 3: Case 3, lower margin and captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 9:34–10:8¹ויחדלוⁱ Exod 9:33¹(Exod 9:33) ויחדלו הקולות (Gen 11:8) העיר ויחדלו ב לבנת העיר MMfig1 ~ L^(as MP) | ~ D^(as MP) | ~ O V R B < | ב לבנות העיר ~ D^(as MP) | ב לבנת העיר ~ L^(as MP) | ויחדלו 1וְאֶת־לֵב עֲבָדָיו²ⁱⁱ Exod 10:1³ל וס^{MP}⁴Ø MMוְאֶת־ 4 < O V B | ~ D L R 5 | וְאֶת־לֵב עֲבָדָיו 3 ~ V B | ~ O D L R = וְאֶת־לֵב עֲבָדָיו 2
Ø D L V R B | ~ O (see alphabetical list on אתא)שְׁתֵּי⁵ Exod 10:1⁶ⁱⁱⁱי למען (Exod 10:1) לבד (Jer 31:21) שתי כליל (Isa 16:3) וב מלעיל⁷[= MP] MMשְׁתֵּי 7 ב חס ב ~ ג | ב מלעל וחד מלרע | ~ D O L V R = שְׁתֵּי 6 ~ B | ~ O D L V R שְׁתֵּי 5
שתי ג ב חס וחד מל ב מלעל וחד מלרע למען שתי אתתי שתי לבן למסלה שתי כליל צלך^(Weil 433) | D L R
| V [= D] | שתי ג ב מלעיל וחד מלרע וסימניהון | O Bוּלְמַעַן⁸ Exod 10:02⁹Ø MPMMu זוגין מתח[לפין]¹⁰ ולמען תספר (Exod 10:2) ולמען תאריכו ימים (Deut 11:9) ומכל בני

כי רבים הם [בנים] (1Chr 28:51) וכל החי מכל בשר (Gen 6:19) ותחת כי אהב את אבתיך

^{iv}(Exod 1:12) וכאשר יענו אתו (Deut 4:37)

[/Continuing in MMor /2]

MMor 2/ וכאשר יאמרו אליך (Ezek 37:18) וכה תעשה להם לטהרם (Num 8:7)^v וטוב משניהם

את (Eccl 4:3) ואך את דמכם לנפשתיכם (Gen 9:5) ולמען תאריכו ימים (Deut 11:9) וטוב לא

יהיה לרש[ע] (Eccl 8:13) {ואך את דמכם לנפשתיכם} (Gen 9:5) ואךⁱ אם טמאה (Josh 22:19)

¹ In O, ff. 51r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 120–121; in L, ff. 36v–37r; in V, f. 15r; in R, ff. 52r–52vr; in B, f. 40r; M is lacunary on this part, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 11.

ⁱ From the previous folio in Vat14, where no MP is written.

ⁱⁱ The *rafe* is between the *beth* and the *daleth* in the last word.

ⁱⁱⁱ This note is located in the external margin, where it should be a MP note.

^{iv} Ezek 1:23 is missing.

^v 2Sam 16:7 is missing.

י מיחדין וכל למען ולמען D | i מיחד O | ב ראש פסוק Ø V B | L R 9 [וּלְמַעַן] = O D L V R B 8
 ולמען ט [בתורה] וסמנהון ספר שמי. תספר באזני. תאריך ימים. ייטב לך. D ~ [וּלְמַעַן] 10 דכות בִּמְי
 ולמען i ומיחדין וסמנהון למען תספר O | יאריכן ימיד. ולמען נסתך. לא בצדקתך. תאריכו. ראש פסוק.
 באזני. ולמען תאריך ימים. ולמען יארכון ימיד. ולמען ספר שמי. ולמען הקים את תדבר. ולמען שמך תנחני.
 וכל למען ולמען בפסוקא כוות[הון] בר מן i בו ידעתי למען למען דעת למען תינקו ואטמא אתם למען
 ולמען ט ולמען תספר באזני בנד. ולמען ספר שמי בכל הארץ. ולמען תאריך R | טבח טבח מאת יהוה.
 ימים על האדמה. לא בצדקתך. ולמען תאריכו ימים. ולמען שמך תנחני ותנהלני. ולמען דוד עבדי. וחברו.
 L V B < | ולמען ירשלים.

Exod 10:5 וְלֹא יִכָּלֵי^{11vi}

MP Ø¹²

3a/ MMfig לא יוכל ד בקריה¹³ וסי ולא יוכל (Exod 10:5) מקדשו (Isa 16:12) לשאת
 (Jer 44:22) לדין עד [עם] שתקיף ממנו (Eccl 6:10) וכל ולא יכול דכוותיה בר מן ד לא יכול
 3b/ וירא (Gen 32:26) אתה ולא ידעת [אתה ידעת את דוד אבי כי לא יכול] (1Kgs 5:17)
 ואחיהו (1Kgs 14:4) ויקדש שלמה דדוברי הימים (2Chr 7:7)

11 ~ [וְלֹא יִכָּלֵי] 13 ~ [וְלֹא יִכָּלֵי] Ø R B | O D L i^(Weil 2268) 12 ~ [וְלֹא יִכָּלֵי] ~ O D L V R B ~ [וְלֹא יִכָּלֵי] 11
 ולא יכול ד וסימנהון וכסה את עין הארץ. ולא יכול. ייי עוד לשאת. והיה כי נראה מה שהיה כבר נקרא
 | = V (but afterwards) < D L R B

Exod 10:6 וּמִלֵּא¹⁴

MP Ø¹⁵

MMu כל אוריתא ומלכים מלאו ומלאו בִּמְי ג מלאו ומלאו^{16vii} וסי כי מלאו ימי (Gen 29:21) ומלאו
 בתי מצרים (Exod 8:17) ומלאו בתיך (Exod 10:6) וכל שאר קרייה מלאו ומלאו בִּמְי וסימני
 מלאו השלטים (Jer 51:11) שבעת ימים יכפרו (Ezek 43:26)

14 ~ [וּמִלֵּא] 16 ג בתו ראש פסוק V | ג בתו[רה] D Ø O L R B ~ [וּמִלֵּא] 15 ~ [וּמִלֵּא] = O D L V R B
 < O D L V R B

Exod 10:7 וַיַּעֲבְדוּ¹⁷

MP ל רפ¹⁸

MM Ø¹⁹

vi This accent (Merkha) has been wrongly added by another hand instead of a Ma'yila'.

vii The note means "In the Pentateuch ('Orayta) and Kings, always מלאו or מלאו with three excep-
 tions: [Gen 29:21, Exod 8:17, Exod 10:6]. In the rest of the Bible (Qerya), always מלאו or מלאו with two
 exceptions: [Jer 51:11 and Ezek 43:26]". See Ginsburg 1897, I, nr. 380.

17 וְעִבְדֶּךָ] = O D L V R B 18 וְעִבְדֶּךָ] ~ O R D לְ | ~ V (*circellus* without MP) | < L B 19 וְעִבְדֶּךָ]
 Ø D L V R B | O (in a list of *casus lêt*)

Other Texts

Captions:

(Exod 10:4) ארבה בגבולך Ia/Ib

Uncertain signs or words:

לְviii

viii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 4: f. 75v, Exodus 12:7–12:17

Unleavened bread, lintel, & burnt offering

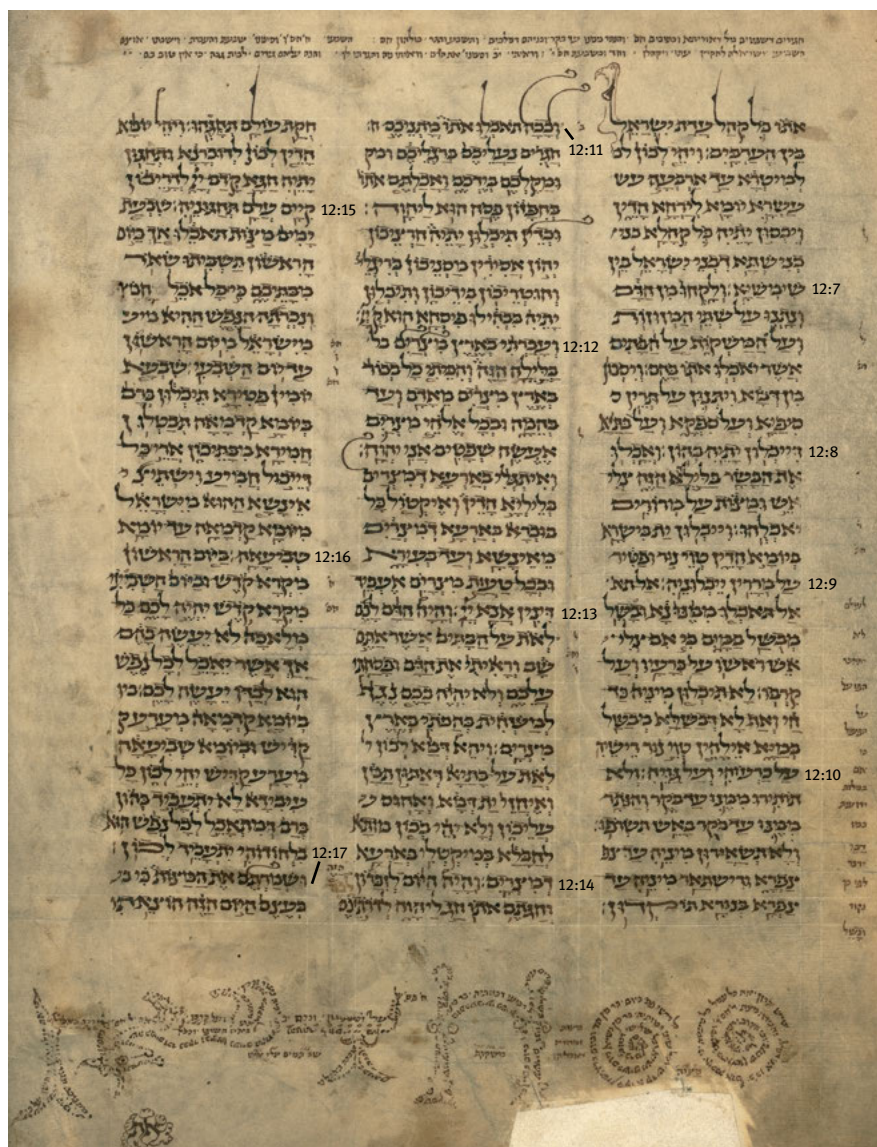


Plate 4: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 75v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Figure 4: Case 4, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 12:7–12:17¹

Exod 12:7 וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה¹

MP לֹדֶס²

MM Ø³ⁱ

1 [וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה] = O D L V R | ~ B וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה 2 [וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה] ~ L V R | ~ O זֶה מִיָּחַד דְּמִי קָרָה O | ~ L | ~ i זֶה חֵד אֶל וְחֵד עַל דְּעַל ~ D | ~ A ל תִּנִּי עַל תְּלִית וְעַל 3 [וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה] Ø L V R B | O D זֶה מִיְּחָדִין דְּמִיין חֵד אֶל וְחֵד עַל וְחֵד וְעַל (= Frensdorff 89)

Exod 12:8 יֹאבְלָהוּ⁴

MP חֶסֶד⁵

MM Ø⁶

4 [יֹאבְלָהוּ] = O D L V R B 5 [יֹאבְלָהוּ] ~ L D V R חֶסֶד | ~ O B 6 [יֹאבְלָהוּ] < O D L V R B

Exod 12:9 וְעַל־קִרְבּוֹ⁷

MP Ø⁸

MMfig 1/ ועל קרבו⁹

7 [וְעַל־קִרְבּוֹ] = O D L V R B 8 [וְעַל־קִרְבּוֹ] Ø L D V R B | O D לֹ 9 [וְעַל־קִרְבּוֹ] < O D L V R B

Exod 12:10 וְהִנֵּתָר¹⁰

MP Ø¹¹

MMu והנתר¹² ממנו עד בקר (Exod 12:10) {ו} בניהם דמלכים (1Kgs 9:21) ותשבע ותתר

(Ruth 2:14) כולהו חס

MMfig 2/ והנתר ל חס (Exod 12:10)

10 [וְהִנֵּתָר] = O D L V R B 11 [וְהִנֵּתָר] Ø B | L וחס | VR | ל חס | O | ג חס | D | ג חס בלש D | ג חס | O | ג חס | L | וחס | B | Ø [וְהִנֵּתָר] 12 [וְהִנֵּתָר] < O L B V R והנתר נתרו ותתר חס וסימנ ולא תותירו דואלה שמות בניהם דמלכ ותאכל ותשבע

¹ In O, ff. 52v–53r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 125–126; in L, ff. 37v–38r; in V, ff. 17v–18r; in R, ff. 53v–54r; in B, f. 41r; M is lacunary on this part, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 11.

ⁱ In D, p. 126 upper margin, there is a list of hapax according to אֶלְעַל.

13ii וְזָכְרָה Exod 12:1114 ב MP(Exod 12:11) וככה תאכלו אתו מתניכם (Neh 5:13) ב 15 יהיה נעור ורק 3/ MMfig

13 וְזָכְרָה = V | O D L B R וְזָכְרָה 14 ב D | O L וְזָכְרָה < V R B 15 וְזָכְרָה D ב O L V R B
 וככה ב D | O L וְזָכְרָה < וסימנהון תאכלו אתו וככה יהיה נעור ורק

16 חֲגֵרִים 12:1117 $\emptyset$ MP

(Exod 12:11; Dan 10:5) חס' דשפטים מל' (Judg 18:16) חגורים MMu

16 חֲגֵרִים = V | ~ O D L R חֲגֵרִים | ~ B חֲגֵרִים 17 חֲגֵרִים $\emptyset$ O | V חֲגֵרִים ב חס' וחד מל' R ב חס' ב חס' B
 חגרים ב חס' וחד מל' וסימנהון מתניכם חגרים ~ R חֲגֵרִים 18 חֲגֵרִים ב חס' וחד מל' D ב חס' וחד מל' B
 חגרים ב חס' וחד מל' וסימנ' וככה תאכלו אתו [שמ' D ~] | ושם מאות איש דמשפטים ואשא את עיני
 ב חס' וחד מל' O L V B < ושם מאות איש דשפטים ומתניו חגרים בכתם אופז

19iii לֹאֵת Exod 12:1320 ל וחס' ו MP21iv ל חס' ו 4/ MMfig

19 לֹאֵת = O D L V R [[B]] 20 לֹאֵת ~ O D L ל חס' ו V (*cellus without MP*) | < R [[B]] 21 לֹאֵת
 < O D L B V R

22 וְרָאִיתִי Exod 12:1323 $\emptyset$ MP

MMu וראיתי יב' וסימנ' 24 את הדם (Exod 12:13) וראיתי מה והגדתי לך (1Sam 19:3) והנה

(Ezek 37:8) לבית גבה (Ezek 41:8) כי אין טוב במ' (Eccl 3:22)

[Continuing down on the MMfig]

5/ MMfig שיש יתרון (Eccl 13:2) את כל עמל (Eccl 4:4) כל מעשה (Eccl 8:17) כי איככה

(Dan 10:7; Dan 12:5) אני דניא וחבירו (Esth 8:6) אוכל ב' בו

22 וְרָאִיתִי = O D L V R [[B]] 23 וְרָאִיתִי $\emptyset$ [[B?]] | O D L V R יב' 24 וְרָאִיתִי D L R (*Weil 445*)
 [[V?]] | < O [[B]]

ii The calligraphy of these accents is similarly made in V.

iii In B, the verse was forgotten and then added in the upper margin.

iv With a correction inserted by Elijah on the waw.

v במעשי instead of בם.

Exod 12:15 [מיום] הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*^{25 vi}MP חס ו²⁶MM Ø²⁷

25 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 26 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] O D R חס ל | חס L | חס V | חס B < | חס ו 27 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] Ø O D L R B | V חס הראשון חס בארבעה עשר יום לחדש הראשון חס 28 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 29 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 30 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 31 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 32 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי 33 [הָרֵאשִׁי*וֹי*] = L V | O D R הָרֵאשִׁי < B הָרֵאשִׁי

Exod 12:15 הַשְּׁבִיעִי^{28 vii}MP { חס חס }^{29 ix}

MM השבעי ח חס ו סימני³⁰ שבעת (Exod 12:15) והעברת (Lev 25:9) וישבתו (Exod 16:30) אוצם (1Chr 2:15) השביעי ישראלה (1Chr 25:14) להקוץ (1Chr 24:10) עתי (1Chr 12:12) ויקהלו (2Chr 5:3) וחד ובשבעת (Exod 21:2) חס ו

28 [הַשְּׁבִיעִי] = O D L R V | ~ B הַשְּׁבִיעִי 29 [הַשְּׁבִיעִי] ~ L R חס בתוך L R חס O ~ | חס D ~ | חס V ~ | חס השבעי ח חס תשבתו וישבתו העם ועברת שופר תרועה אצם V [הַשְּׁבִיעִי] ~ 30 < B | חס יוד מציעי חס O D ? L R B | השישי עתי השישי להקוץ השבעי בירח האיתנים

Exod 12:16 בָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי^{31 i}MP Ø³²

MMfig 6a/ כל רישי פס ביום [הרשאון] בר מן חד^{33 x} וביום הראשון מקרא קדש (Exod 12:16) וכל שיני דכוותיהן בר מן נשיא ביום השיני נשיא (Num 7:18) כל שלישי דכוותי בר מן פרים ע[[שת]]י (Num 29:20) 6b/ וביום השלישי פרים עשתי (Num 29:20) וכל רביעי דכוותיה[ן] בר מן [[ביום הרבי]] נשיא (Num 7:30) חמישי שישי {שבי} שביעי ביום השביעי נשיא (Exod 12:48) ביום הש[[מיני]]

31 [בָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי] ~ O D L R B [בָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי] ~ V | ובָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי 32 [בָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי] Ø O L R | V B < D ? L V R | חס ו בעיניניה בליש בראשון בארבעה O | ~ B [בָּיִם הָרֵאשִׁי] = 33 סד D | חס ו מצע

vi This note concerns the second הראשון of Exod 12:15. There is an erased waw, like in L, and an additional graphic sign in V (perhaps indicating that it should be erased). The waw is missing in O and D. In B, the lemma is written plene, with waw.

vii In B, the verse was forgotten and then added in the upper margin, without vowels.

viii Probably a mistake, see note hereunder.

ix This MP is misplaced and should be written instead of the previous one.

x See Weil 877.

34xi[מַצֶּת] Exod 12:18

[35] MP

וְיִמְנֶה³⁶ בְּרֹאשׁוֹן (Exod 12:18) שִׁבְעַת (Exod 13:6) וְכִי תִקְרַב

(Exod 29:2) סֵלֶת [[בְּשִׁמּוֹן]] (Lev 2:4)

34 [מַצֶּת] = ODLVRB 35 [מַצֶּת] ØV | ODLR חֵסֶד | B (on Exod 12:15 מַצֶּת) חֵסֶד בְּמִזְבֵּחַ חֵסֶד
< ODLVRB

Other Texts

Grammatical commentary placed as a MP (with *circellus*) on Exod 12:9 וְיִשְׁלַח מִבְּשָׁל:

לְעוֹלָם לֹא יִתְחַבֵּר הַפּוֹעֵל עַל הַפּוֹעֵל כִּי אִם בְּמִלּוֹת יְדוּעוֹת כִּמוֹ דִּבֵּר יִדְבֵּר לְפִי כִּךְ נִקּוּד וְיִשְׁלַח

The notes concern the *dagesh* written in the shin of וְיִשְׁלַח (missing in O, D, L, R and perhaps V^{xiii}). It means: “A verb is never connected to an adverb, except in famous expressions such as דִּבֵּר יִדְבֵּר (Exod 4:14, i.e., an infinitive absolute followed by a verb at the Imperfect becomes an adverb). That is why the term וְיִשְׁלַח is punctuated [with a *dagesh*].”^{xiv}

Captions:

The lintel (of the front door of a house from Exod 12:7):

I משְׁקוּף¹

Unleavened bread and bitter herbs will be eaten (from Exod 12:8):

IIa מִצּוֹת וּמְרֹרִים יֹאכְלֻהוּ

Matsot, unleavened bread (from Exod 12:8):

IIb מִצּוֹת²

Pure animal roasted on fire (from Exod. 12:5 and 12:10):

^{xi} Lemma written on f. 76r.

^{xii} מַצֶּת four times without *waw* (as vowel).

^{xiii} The examination of the manuscript is not possible.

^{xiv} According to P. Cassuto, the form in Exod 4:14 is a model to explain the form in Exod 12:9. Here is the idea: as *MeVuShal* is a *Pu'al*, hence *U-VaSheL* must be from the same *bynian*, an infinitive construct *pi'el* (with *dagesh*, hence וְיִשְׁלַח) and not an adverbial form (without *dagesh*).

¹ Marked with some strokes.

² Marked with some strokes.

V שה תמים צלי אש³

MMfig (see fig. 4) completed with biblical verses related to a lamb or a goat roasted on a fire (from Exod 12:5–15):

III כי אם [[צלי אש ראשו]] על [[כרעיו]] ועל [[ל]] [[ק]] רבו (Exod 12:9)

IV באש תשרפו וככה (Exod 12:10–11)

VI ככה תאכל [[ו]] מתניכם חגור [[ים]] (Exod 12:11)

VII וככה {וככה} תאכלו [[מתניכם]] (Exod 12:11)

VIII שה תמים זכר בבקר ובצאן בעזים תקחו^{xv}

Erased words:

IX ח פס על ועל על [וסימניהון]^{xvi}

Uncertain signs or words:

X עשרים?

^{xvii} ל?

Addendum in Exod 12:14, from different scribes:

הזה לָכֶם

³ Marked with some strokes.

^{xv} From Exod 12:15; Deut 14:26; Lev 22:19?

^{xvi} The list seems to be interrupted. See Ginsburg II, list 364, 391.

^{xvii} See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 5: f. 77v, Exodus 13:7–13:19

Donkey (redeem of male firstlings)



Plate 5: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 77v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

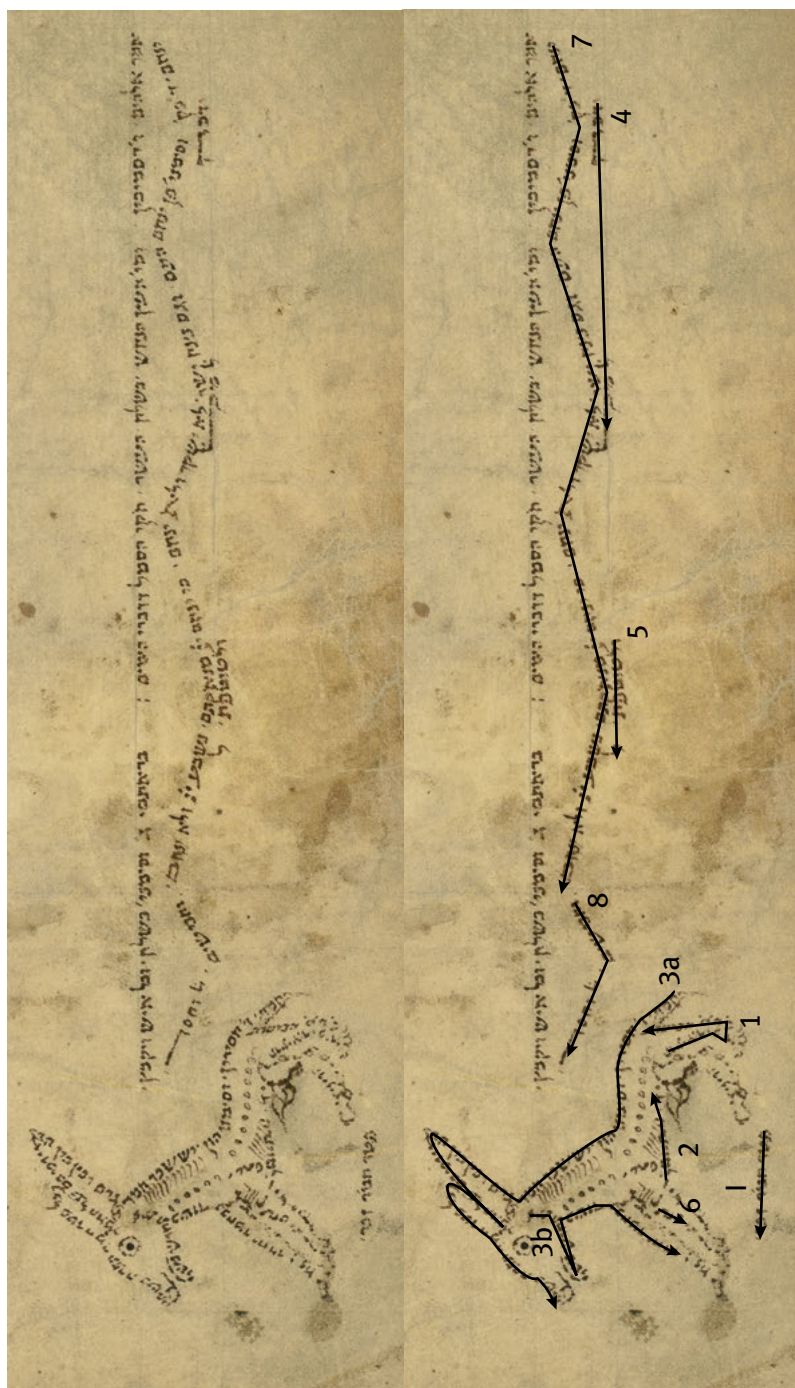


Figure 5: Case 5, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 13:7–13:19¹

Exod 13:07 שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים¹

 ${}^2\ddot{\sigma}\tau \dot{n} MP$

3Ø MM

שבעת הימים $\emptyset \text{ O L}$ | שבעת הימים $= \text{L R} | \sim \text{D i} | < \text{O V B}$ 2 שבעת הימים $= \text{O D L V R B}$ 1 שבעת הימים $\text{V B} | \text{D}$ (part of Weil 4051) | שבעת הימים וסימנהון מצות יאכל את שבעת הימים ותבך עליו שבעת הימים ויהי אור R (Weil 4051) לבנה ושבעת ימי החג דיחזקאל ושל אחריו

⁴ⁱהַיּוֹצֵא Exodus 13:09

5ii; $\sigma\eta \dot{\iota}$ MP

MMfig /1/ ב' חס' הנטויה (Deut 7:19)

4 $[הוֹצִיאָה] \sim B \mid ODLVR$ 5 $[הוֹצִיאָה] = ODLVR \mid \sim D$ כן המסות הגדולות
 B חסר יוד* 6 $[הוֹצִיאָה] < ODLVR$

⁷ⁱⁱⁱלְמוֹעֵדָה^o Exod 13:10

 ${}^8\text{O MP}$

MMfig /2/ למועדה ל⁹

7 $[L \rightarrow V] = V B \mid \sim O? D L R$ $[L \rightarrow V] \emptyset V \mid L \bar{5} \mid O R$ $\bar{5} \mid D$ וכל מועדה $\bar{5} \mid$
 8 $[L \rightarrow V] < O D? L V R B$ $\bar{5} \mid B$ בת

¹⁰Exod 13:10 מִיָּמִים יְמִימָה

¹¹Ø MP

MMu מימים ימימה ה' וסימנ¹²⁵ ושמרת את החקה (Exod 13:10) תלכנה בנות ישר (Judg 11:40)
בשילה (Judg 21:19) ועלה (1Sam 1:3) והעלתה (1Sam 2:19)

10 [מִצִּיָּקִים יְמִיָּה] = O D L V R B **11** [מִצִּיָּקִים יְמִיָּה] $\emptyset$ D B | O D ? L V R ה **12** [מִצִּיָּקִים יְמִיָּה] = O L V R B ^(Weil 457) | < D

¹ In O, see ff. 54v–55r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 129–130; in L, ff. 38v–39r; in V, ff. 20r–20v; in R, f. 55v; in B, ff. 42r–42v; M is lacunary on this part, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 11.

i The letters *tsadeh* and the *yod* are joined by a stroke.

ii The note means “Twice defective spelling (without *yod*)”. This is in contradiction to the lemma written plene, but such cases are not specific to Vat14.

iii The dot under the letter *heh* is a *mappiq*.

Exod 13:11 ^{13iv}וְיָצֵאMP יבאד ק וחס ¹⁴ⁱMM ¹⁵Ø

13 [וְיָצֵא] = B V | ~ O D L R יבאד ק וחס 14 [וְיָצֵא] = V | ~ O D L חס < R B (see MM) 15 [וְיָצֵא] = Ø O D L V R | ~ B חסר ק ו

Exod 13:13 וְכָל [...] וְכָל ^{16v}MP ¹⁷Ø

MMu יא פס ראש ומצע וכל וסימניו ^{18vi} וכל שיח השדה (Gen 2:5) וכל פטר חמר (Exod 13:13) וכל מנחה אשר תאפה (Lev 7:9) וכל אשר תשכב (Lev 15:20) וכל בגד וכל עוד (Lev 15:17) וכל ערי המישור וכל ממלכת סיחון (Josh 13:21) וכל כלי משקה וחבירו (1K 10:21; 2Chr 9:20) וכל העמק הפגרים (Jer 31:40) וכל אשר סביבות (Ezek 12:14)

י D [ח] ראש פסו בסיפ V B | L וְכָל 17 וְכָל ... וְכָל ... וְכָל ... וְכָל O L R | ~ V B [וְכָל] 16 י ראש פסוק ומצע וכל וכל וסימנהו וכל D [וְכָל] 18 י רא פס R | (בכל פטר חס) O | פסוק ומצע וכל וכל שיח השדה וכל פטר חמר וכל מנחה אשר תאפה וכל אשר תשכב עליו וכל ערי המשיר דיהושע וכל כלי משקה. O L V R B < | משקה [וכל העמק הפגרים] וכל כלי משקה.

Exod 13:13 חָמֶר ¹⁹ⁱMP חס ו ²⁰ⁱ

MMfig 3a/ חמר ד חסירין וסימניהו ²¹ⁱ יששכר חמר גרם רבץ בין {בין} ה (Gen 49:14) וירכיבם על החמר (Exod 4:20) וכל פטר חמר תפדה בשה (Exod 13:13) 3b/ לא תחרש {בשו} בשור ובחמר יחדו (Deut 22:10)

י חס L V | ~ O [חָמֶר] 21 < R ד חס בתו V | ~ O D L B [חָמֶר] 20 O D L V R B [חָמֶר] 19 < D R | חמר ד חסר ו וסימנהו יששכר חמר גרם וכו B | ~ (Weil 458) בתו

Exod 13:16 יִדְכָּה ²²ⁱMP ל מל ²³ⁱMMor 4/ ידכה ל מל ²⁴ⁱ

iv The waw seems erased in its lower part to look like a yod.

v Different transmission of this note, see Weil 645.

vi This note gives 11 verses but shows only 10. In D, 10 verses are indicated but only 8 verses are written. See Ginsburg 1883, II, 37, list 224, which announces 10 verses and gives 8 first verses like Vat14 (but not Jer 31:40 and not Ezek 12:14) and then gives 9 other cases of the form וכל.

Exod 12:17 בְּרֵאשִׁית³⁷³⁸Ø MPMMI בראתם ג וסימנ³⁹ בשלח (Exod 13:17) וכל איש (1S 17:24) ויקבץ (2Chr 15:9)

37 [בְּרֵאשִׁית] = O D L V R B 38 [בְּרֵאשִׁית] Ø R B | O L ג | D חס וחד מל V ג חס V ג חס 39 [בְּרֵאשִׁית]
= O D L ^(Weil 459) | < V R B

Exod 13:18 וְחֻמְשֵׁים⁴⁰MP ל וחס וב חמשים וחס⁴¹MMor /8/ וחמשים ל וחס⁴²

40 [וְחֻמְשֵׁים] = O D L V R B 41 [וְחֻמְשֵׁים] = D ג בלש | ~ O ד | ~ L V R B ד וחס 42 [וְחֻמְשֵׁים]
~ O R חמשים וחמשים ד וסימנהון וחסירין עלו בני ישראל. ואתם תעברו חמשים. ויעברו בני ראובן ובני
גד. [אל קצה] החמשים. < D L V B

Other Texts

Caption:

I פטר חמור זכר (Exod 13:13)

Correction in Exod 13:09:

יהוה

Addendum and correction in the margin on Targum of Exod 13:7 (by Elijah ha-Naqdan):*Addendum* in Exod 13:10:

הזאת

Addendum in the margin of the Targum in Exod 13:13.

Case 6: f. 85v, Exodus 20:25–21:11

Altar of stone



Plate 6: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 85v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

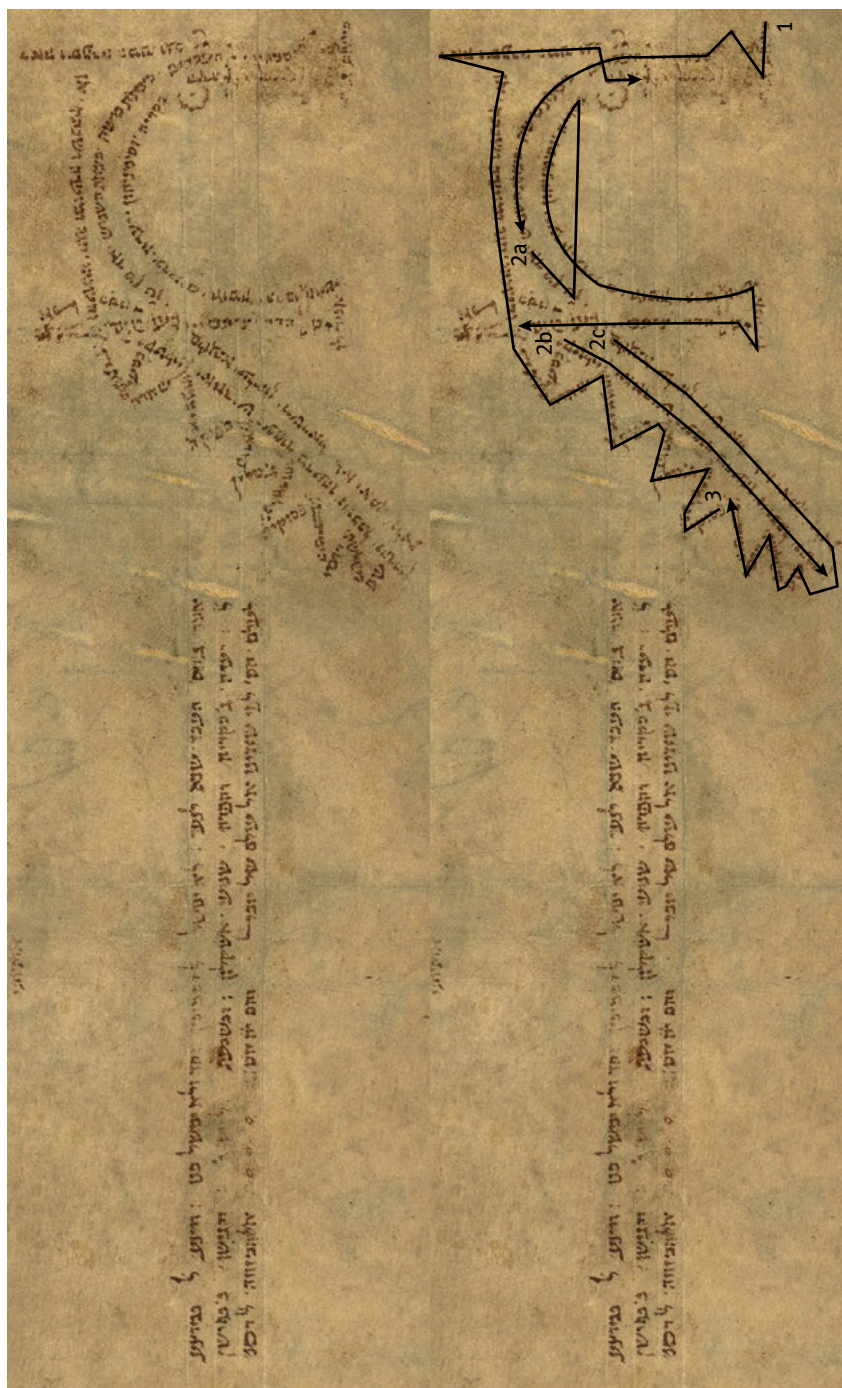


Figure 6: Case 6, lower margin with caption

Masoretic notes on Exodus 20:25–21:11¹וְתַחֲלִילֶיהָ¹ Exod 20:25²ל וחט MP³Ø MM

וְתַחֲלִילֶיהָ¹ = B | ~ O D L V R וְתַחֲלִילֶיהָ² = O D | ~ L V R B? ל³ וְתַחֲלִילֶיהָ³ = Ø O D L V R B

מִזְבְּחִי⁴ Exod 20:26⁵Ø MP

MM מִזְבְּחִי חַ בְּקִרְיָה וְסִימָנִי⁶ בַּמַּעֲלוֹת (Exod 20:26) יִיד (Exod 21:14) וּבָחַר (1S 2:28) לֹא אֲכָרִית (1S 2:33) וְהִבִּיאֹתִים (Isa 56:7) כֹּל צֶאֱן (Isa 60:7) תֹּאדִירוֹ (Mal 1:10) מִגִּישִׁים (Mal 1:7)

מִזְבְּחִי⁴ = [[O]] D L V R [[B]] מִזְבְּחִי⁵ Ø B | O D L V R חַ מִזְבְּחִי⁶ = R | < O [[D ?]] L (but Weil 2410) V B

וּבִשְׁבַּעַת⁷ Exod 21:2⁸ל חט MP⁹[[חט]] ובשבועת MMI

וּבִשְׁבַּעַת⁷ = V | ~ B ובשבועת | ~ D ובשבועת | ~ O L R ובשבועת⁸ = O L R | ~ V כַּת⁹ לֹא חַט דַּחַס ~ D B | כֹּן ובשבועת⁹ < O L [[D]] V R B

אֶם-בִּגְפוֹ¹⁰ Exod 21:3¹¹ל דט MP¹²Ø MM

אֶם-בִּגְפוֹ¹⁰ = O D L V R B אֶם-בִּגְפוֹ¹¹ ~ O L B אֶם אֶם בְּהוֹן אֶם אֶם פֶּס (on lemma אֶם, Weil 519) | ~ D R אֶם (on בִּגְפוֹ, like in L on בִּגְפוֹ in Exod 25:4) | < V B אֶם-בִּגְפוֹ¹² Ø O [[D]] L V R B

¹ In O, ff. 62r–62v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 145–146; in L, ff. 43v–44r; in V, ff. 30r–30v; in R, f. 61v; in B, f. 37r; M is lacunary on this part, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 11.

¹³אָמַר Exod 21:5

¹⁴י חס MP

MMI אמר י חס¹⁵ העבד (Exod 21:5) שגא (Judg 15:2) לנעד (1Sam 20:21)

וּאִם אָמַר יֵאמֹר B ~ [אָמַר] 15 < O L V R B | י חס וג מל D ~ [אָמַר] 14 = O D L V R B [אָמַר] 13
וּדִין V R L (but Weil 1487) < O [[D]] | ב חס שגאתה לך מצא ודין

¹⁶ⁱוְהִגִּישׁוּ Exod 21:6

¹⁷ⁱⁱØ MP

MMI וְהִגִּישׁוּ בַּבִּפְסוּקִי¹⁸ⁱⁱⁱ

| ל ובפסוק V | ב בפסוק L | ל ראש פסוק D | י חס B | Ø [וְהִגִּישׁוּ] 17 = O D L V R B [וְהִגִּישׁוּ] 16
R ב < O [[D]] L V R B [וְהִגִּישׁוּ] 18

¹⁹אֶל־הַמְּזוּזָה Exod 21:6

²⁰Ø MP

MMI אֶל הַמְּזוּזָה ל דסמ²¹

[אֶל־הַמְּזוּזָה] 21 ל וחד והמזוזה D | ל V R B | Ø B [אֶל־הַמְּזוּזָה] 20 = O D L V R B [אֶל־הַמְּזוּזָה] 19
< O [[D]] L V R B

²²וְרָצַע Exod 21:6

²³Ø MP

MMI ורצע ל²⁴

[וְרָצַע] 22 = O D L V R B [וְרָצַע] 23 Ø O V R B | D L ל 24 < O [[D]] L V R B

²⁵בְּמִרְצָע Exod 21:6

²⁶ל MP

²⁷ל MMI

[בְּמִרְצָע] 25 = O D L V R B [בְּמִרְצָע] 26 = O D L | < V R B [בְּמִרְצָע] 27 < O [[D]] L V R B

i This lemma appears twice in Exod 21:6.

ii O indicates a MP on both cases, L on the first one and V on the last one.

iii It is possible that Elijah wrote this note as a MM and not as a MP.

28 לְעֵלָם Exod 21:6

29 Ø MP

MMI לעלם חס לפי שאינו אל עולם של יובל^{iv} והם יח חס³⁰

לעלם טעם B = [לְעֵלָם] 30 י חס בתור L | חס OD | VBR | Ø [לְעֵלָם] 29 = ODLVRB [לְעֵלָם] 28
 שיהא חס שאין זה לעולם ועד רק לעולמו של יובל < O [[D?]] L^(but Weil 25) V R

31 כְּצִאֲתָּהּ Exod 21:7

32 i בק MP

1/ MMfig כצאת g [וס]מניהון³³ העבדים (Exod 21:7) כצאת משה (Exod 33:8) כצאת השמש
 (Judg 5:31)

31 [כְּצִאֲתָּהּ] = ODLVRB 32 [כְּצִאֲתָּהּ] = D L V R | ~ O משה השמש g < B 33 [כְּצִאֲתָּהּ] = V | <
 O [[D?]] L^(but Weil 1426) R B

34 לֹא Exod 21:8

35 לו ק MP

2a/ MMfig חד מן טו בקריה וסימניהון³⁶ יעדה (Exod 21:8) כרעים (Lev 11:21) חומה
 (Lev 25:30) תרבו (1S 2:3) חושי (2S 16:8) אמר לו (2Kgs 8:10) [v?] צרתם (Isa 63:9) דעו
 (Ps 100:3) יי [[צ]]רו (Ps 139:16) 2b/ יקטליני (Job 13:14) אחריש (Job 41:4) [[כ]]צפור
 (Prov 26:2) מרעהו (Prov 19:7) זרובבל (Esra 4:2) ותרין 2c/ לוגתא עליהון^v (Isa 9:2)
 וישראל לא יאסף (Isa 49:5) ולא שם בשלשה דדברי הימים (1Chr 11:20)

לו ק טו כתבין לא V | יה כתב לא וקרי לו D ~ [לֹא] 35 = ODLRB | ~ D לֹא 34 ~ ODLVRB
 לו קורין לו [לֹא] 36 = O^(Weil 1795) < [[D?]] LVRB

37 יַעֲדָהּ Exod 21:8

38 Ø MP

MMI יעדה g בקריה³⁹ והפדה (Exod 21:8) שמעו (Mic 6:9) אשקלון (Jer 47:7)

37 [יַעֲדָהּ] = ODLVRB 38 [יַעֲדָהּ] Ø RB | O ð | D L V g 39 [יַעֲדָהּ] < O [[D]] L^(but Weil 513) V R B

^{iv} The first part of the note refers to a Jubileum יובל like in לעולם ועד and in the biblical commentary of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Mekhilta. This note is also in B.

^v Erased text or non-text.

^{vi} בפלותהון is the expected term.

Exod 21:8 לא־יִמְשַׁל⁴⁰⁴¹Ø MPMMI לא ימשל ל דסמיכין⁴² (Exod 21:8) וחד ולא ימשל בני (Judg 8:23)

40 [לא־יִמְשַׁל] = O D* L V R B 41 [לא־יִמְשַׁל] Ø O D V R B | L וחד ולא ימשל בני (= MM in Vat14)

42 [לא־יִמְשַׁל] < O [[D]] L^(but Weil 666) V R BExod 21:9 כְּמִשְׁפֵּט⁴³⁴⁴MP בִּקְMMu כמשפט ז ה פתחין וב קמצין^{45vii} לבנו (Exod 21:9) לִישָׁה (Judg 18:7) יראים

עמד (2Chr 8:14) ויעשו (Esra 3:4) וב קמצין פני (Ps 119:132) עליהם

(1Chr 23:31)

כמשפט ז ה V = [כְּמִשְׁפֵּט] 45 O B < | ה D L R V ~ [כְּמִשְׁפֵּט] 44 O D* L V R B = [כְּמִשְׁפֵּט] 43

וסימנהון כמשפת הבנות יעשה כמשפט צידנים כמשפט הגוים ויעמד כמשפט דוד אביו ותריך קמצין
~ D L^(Weil 514) | < O R B | כמשפט עליהם לאהבי שמךExod 21:10 שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּהּ^{46viii}⁴⁷MP פס מפקין כל אותיותMMfig /3 [ג] פסוקים בכל חד וחד ג מלין [ב]הון מפיק ה סימניהון⁴⁸ שארה כסותה(Exod 21:10) והשבתי חגה ומועדה ושביתה (^{ix}Hos 2:13) אז ראה ויספרה הכינה וגם [[חקרה]]

(Job 28:27)

שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעוֹן V B ~ | שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּה D ~ | O R L = [שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּה] 46

ל וחס (וענתה) O ~ | ג פסוק אית בהון כל מלה ומלה מפיק הא V = [שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּה] 47 תה

ג פסוקין אית בהון כל מלה ומלה V ~ [שְׁאֲרָה כְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְתָּה] 48 < R B | ל|ל|ל^(on each word) ~ D L

O [[D]] L R B < | וסימניהון אם אחרת יקח לו שארה כסותה ועונתה והשבתי כל משושה*

Exod 21:24 [על־רעהו⁴⁹]⁵⁰Ø MPMMu על רעהו ה דסמיכין וסימני⁵¹ וכי יזיד איש על רעהו (Exod 21:14) ולנערה לא תעשה

דבר (Deut 22:26) ופגשו ציים את איים (Isa 34:14) כה תאמרו (Jer 23:35) גבר מחליק

(Prov 29:5)

vii This MM note indicates 7 cases, 5 with *patah* and 2 with *qamats*, as recorded in V.viii The *mappiqim* are placed under the letter *heh* in Vat14, V and B.ix Four times *mappiq*.

x The lemma is on folio 86r.

49] על־יָעֲהוּ = O D L V B 50] על־יָעֲהוּ Ø B | O D L V ה 51] על־יָעֲהוּ = [[O ?]] D L (Weil 515) | < V B

Other Texts

Correction indicated in the margin (גיו חט) on Exod 21:4 אִם־אֲדֹנָיָהּ indicating that the term should be written אִם־אֲדֹנָיָהּ.

Addendum on Exod 21:6:

או

Case 7: f. 89v, Exodus 24:9–25:3

Weight



Plate 7: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 89v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

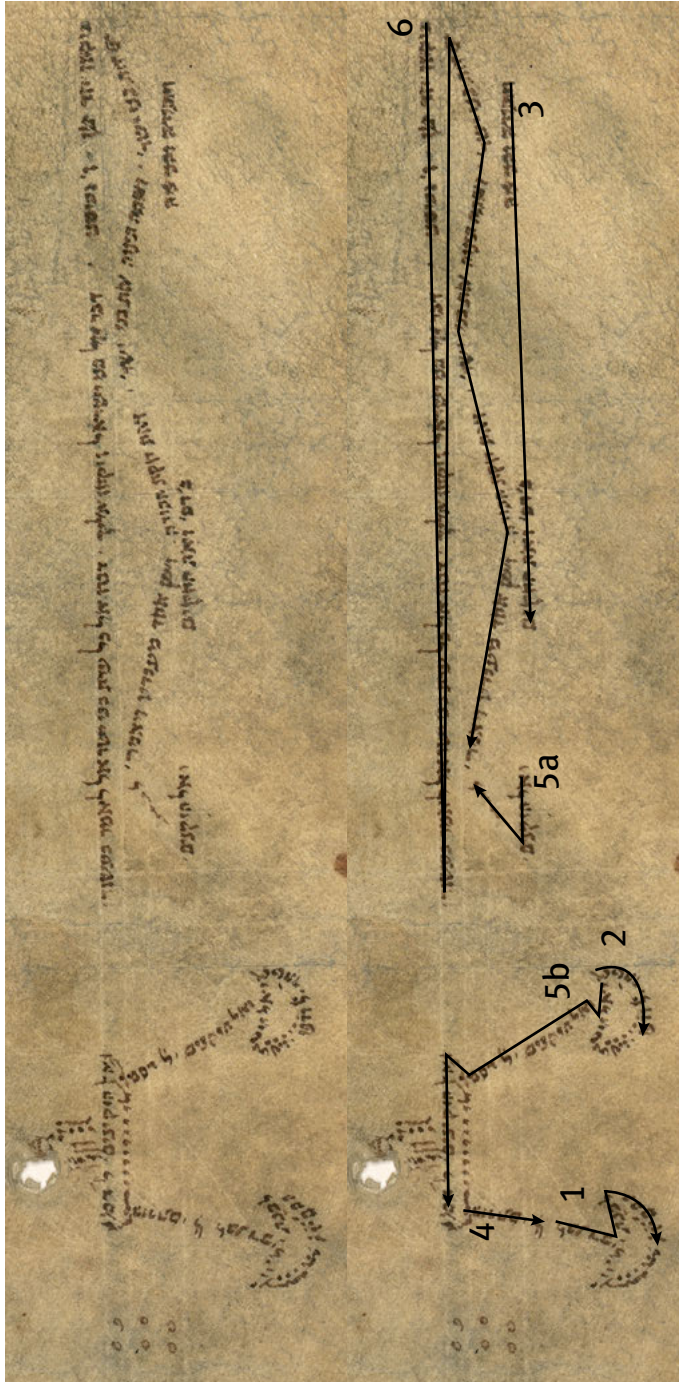


Figure 7: Case 7, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 24:9–25:3¹¹לִבְנֵתָּ Exod 24:10²Ø MP(Exod 24:10) לבנת ל³ הספיר /1/ MMfig

1 [לִבְנֵתָּ] = O D L M V R B 2 [לִבְנֵתָּ] Ø V | L M R בַּחַד פֶּתַח וְחֵד קַמְּ לִמְרָא | O D לבנתָּ לִבְנֵתָּ | B לִבְנֵתָּ 3
 ~ L^(Weil 535) | < O [[D?]] M V R B

⁴לִטְהַר Exod 24:10⁵Ø MP⁶לטהר לִטְהַר /2/ MMfig

4 [לִטְהַר] = O D L M V R B 5 [לִטְהַר] Ø M R B | ~ O D L V לִטְהַר 6 [לִטְהַר] = O | < [[D?]] L M V R B

⁷אֶצִּילִי Exod 24:11⁸MP Ø⁹אֶצִּילִי M Mu

7 [אֶצִּילִי] = O D L M V R B 8 [אֶצִּילִי] Ø M R B | O D V לִי | L בִּי 9 [אֶצִּילִי] < O D L^(but Weil on Ezek 13:18, MM sub loco) M V R B

¹⁰וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ Exod 24:11¹¹(Lam 2:14) בִּשְׂוֹא MP(Lam 2:14) וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ בִּשְׂוֹא מִשְׁאֵת שְׂוֹא וּמְדוּחִים ¹²MMu

10 [וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ] = D L M R | ~ B וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ | V וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ | O וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ 11 [וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ] = O D L בִּי | ~ M אֶשׁ בֶּן וְדִין בֶּן אֶשׁ מִשְׁאֵת שְׂוֹא וּמְדוּחִים
 וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ לִי לִי וְדִין בֶּן אֶשׁ מִשְׁאֵת שְׂוֹא וּמְדוּחִים < V R B 12 [וַיַּחֲזֹזוּ] O^(Weil 3729) | < [[D?]] L^(but Weil 3729) V R B

¹³וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה Exod 24:12¹⁴יְהוָה בֶּטֶן MP¹⁵Ø MM

¹ In O, ff. 65v–66r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 152–153; in L, f. 45v; M, f. 26r and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 79; in V, ff. 34v–35r; in R, ff. 64r–64v; in B, f. 49r.

13 $\text{הָיָה}[\text{הָיָה}] = \text{O D L M V B} \mid \sim \text{R הָיָה}[\text{הָיָה}]$ **14** $\text{וַיֵּאמֶר}[\text{וַיֵּאמֶר}] = \text{O D L M V R} < \text{B}$ **15** $\text{וַיֵּאמֶר}[\text{הָיָה}] \emptyset \text{O} [[\text{D?}]] \text{L}^{(\text{but Weil 439})} \text{M V R B}$

16i וְהַתּוֹרָה וְהַמִּצְוָה Exod 24:12

¹⁷Ø MP

MMor 3/ והתורה והמצוה ב' דס¹⁸ (Exod 24:12) ואת החקים (2Kgs 17:37)

16 הַתְּוֹרָה] = O D L M V R B **17** הַתְּוֹרָה] Ø O M V B | D L R **18** הַתְּוֹרָה] D? L (Weil 536) |
< O M V B

¹⁹להורתם Exod 24:12

20⁵ MP

MMu להורתם ל²¹

22 /MMfig /4 להורתם ל

19 [להורִתָם] = O L M B | ~ D V לְהוֹרִתָם 20 [להורִתָם] D L M V B כֵּן וְכֵן < O 21 [להורִתָם] < O D L M V B 22 See previous footnote.

Exod 24:14 וְאֶל־הַזִּקְנִים²³

24 𐤔𐤌 𐤌 MP

MMu ואל הזקנים ל דסמיד²⁵

²⁶/5a/ MMor ואל הזקנים ל²⁶

²⁷{ואל הזקנים ל דסמי {ואל הזקנים ל דס} /5b/ MMfig

וְאֶל־הַזִּקְנִים = ODL MVR | ~ B וְאֶל־הַזִּקְנִים = ODL | < MVR B וְאֶל־
 הַזִּקְנִים = O | < DLMVR B 24 See previous footnote. 25 See previous footnote.

²⁸וַיִּשְׁכַּח Exod 24:16

²⁹Ø MP

MMu וישכן ה בקרי וסימינ³⁰ כבוד (Exod 24:16) העבן (Num 10:12) ישראל (Deut 33:28)

נבחדות (Job 15:28) בירושלם (1Chr 23:25)

ה' ד' חס' וא' M | [[V ה?]] | D R ה' O L B | וַיִּשְׁבֶּן 29 [[V?]] וַיִּשְׁבֶּן O D L M R B ~ וַיִּשְׁבֶּן 28
מל' L M V ^(Weil 537) < O [[D?]] R B וַיִּשְׁבֶּן 30

i The *waw* seems to be shortened in Vat14, V, B and R.

Exod 24:17 וּמִרְאָה³¹MP³² Ø

MMu ומראה ו' קמצין וסימני³³ כבוד (Exod 24:17) בנגע (Lev 13:3) הנתק (Lev 13:32) יכסנו
(Num 9:16) האופנים (Ezek 10:9) הילודים (Da 1:13) הערב (Da 8:26) וחד פתח ומראה ולא
(Num 12:8) בחידת

קמצ' V | ב' האופנים ודין M | Ø L B | ומִרְאָה 32 | O D R i | ומִרְאָה B ~ O D L M V = [ומִרְאָה 31
[?] 33 | ומִרְאָה O = O [[D?]] L (Weil 539) R | < M V B

Exod 25:2 וַיִּקְחוּ³⁴MP³⁵ⁱⁱ י' בָּקִי

MMor /6/ ויקחו חד מן ו' וסימני³⁶ דבר אל בני ישראל (Exod 25:2) ויקחו אליך (Lev 24:2)
דברו אל כל עדת בני ישראל לאמר בעשור (Exod 12:3) את בני יש' ואתה תצוה את בני יש'
(Exod 27:20) זאת חקת התורה (Num 19:2) ויען אחד מעבדיו ויאמר (2Kgs 7:13)

[ויִקְחוּ 34] = O D L M [[V]] R | ~ B וַיִּקְחוּ 35 | ~ D L i | ~ O M רֶפְּ | R' | < [[V]] B 36 [ויִקְחוּ]
M (Weil 560) | < O [[D]] L (but Weil 560) V R (but Weil 1853) B

Other Texts

Uncertain (reading marks?):

לֵךְ / קֶן / לֵךְⁱⁱⁱ

Addendum on Exod 24:9 (end of the verse) and on its Targum (beginning of the same verse) by Elijah ha-Naqdan.

ii There are two different lists probably combined here: the one ויקחו (Weil 560) and the list on the posal form יקחו (Weil 1853).

iii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 8: f. 93r, Exodus 26:19–26:32

Pillars from the court of the Tabernacle
(27:10–27:19 & 38:10–38:19)

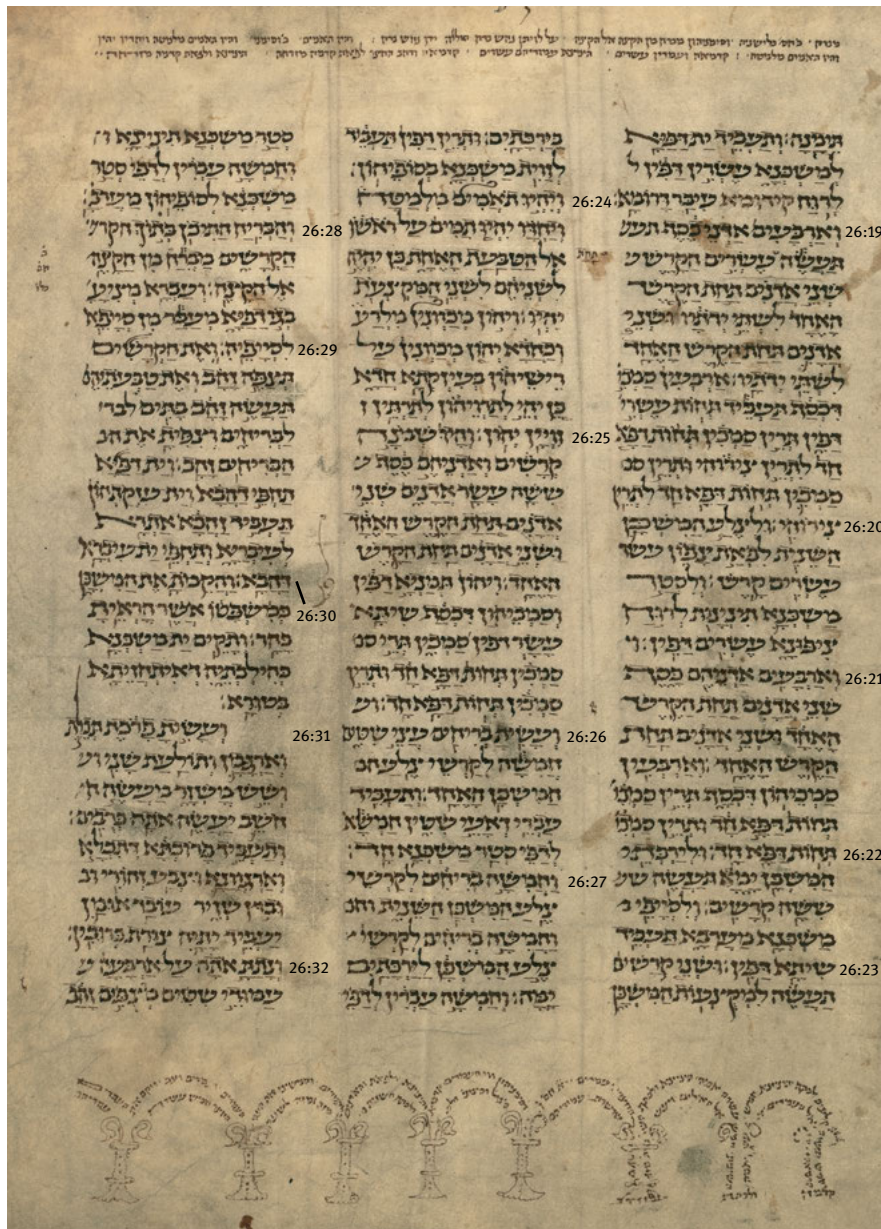


Plate 8: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 93r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

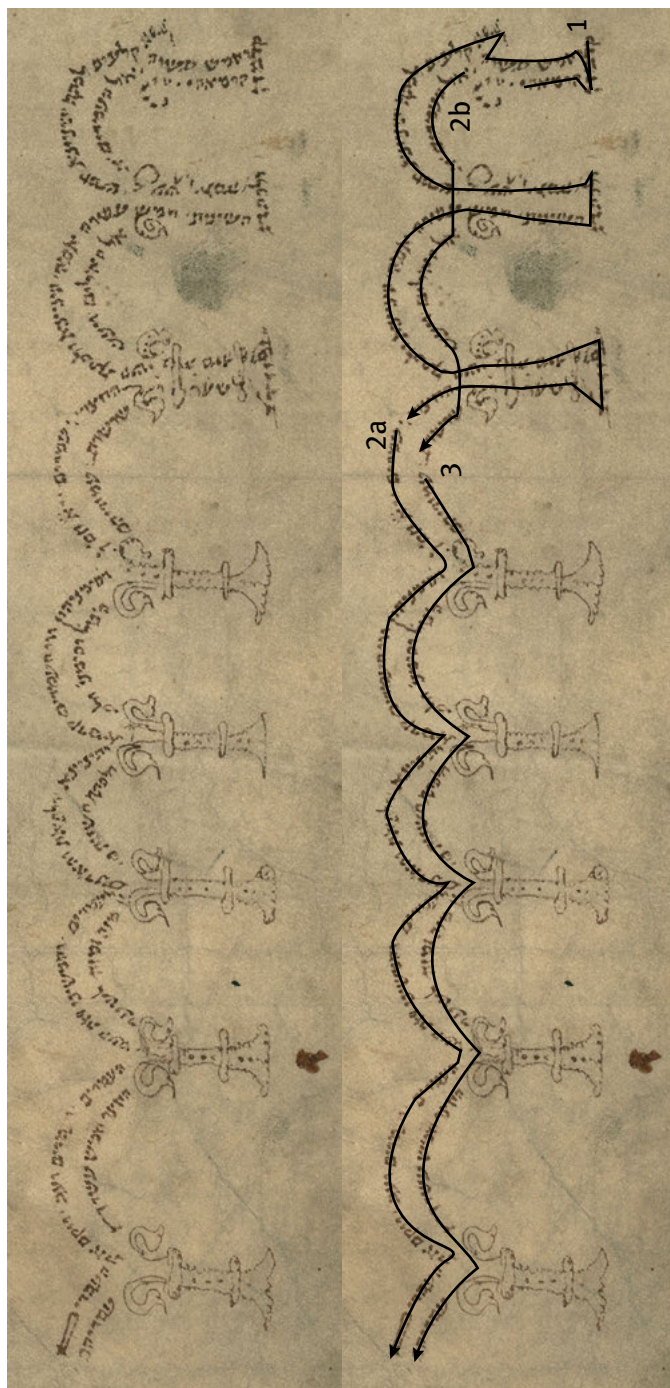


Figure 8: Case 8, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 26:19–26:32¹

^{li}Exod 26:24 וַיֵּהֱיוּ תְּאֵמִים

 ${}^2\text{O MP}$

MMu והיו תאמים ב' וסימנ³ והיו תאמים מלמאה ויחדיו והיו תאמים מלמטה (Exod 26:24) והיו תאמים מלמטה (Exod 36:29)

1 | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים^L | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים^{V B} | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים^{O D M R} | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים² | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים^{Ø B} |
O L M רָפָא | דָּוָר יֵא 3 | וְיִהְיוּ תַאמִּים^{O L R} | O L R^(Weil 417) < D M B [V?]

4^o מִבְּרַח Exodus 26:28

MP ב' חס כל⁵

MMu מברח ב' חס' בלישניה וסימניהו⁶ מברח מן הקצה אל הקצה (Exod 26:28) על לויתן נחש ברח (Isa 27:1) חוללה ידו נחש ברח (Job 26:13)

4 מְבִרָה] = O D L M V R B **5** מְבִרָה ~ O L V בליש ן חס | ~ D M וחס ן חס | R חס |
< B **6** מְבִרָה O(CM) מברח ל חס | L (Weil 554) | < D M [V?] R B

⁷מִצָּפִים⁷ Exod 26:32

85 MP

9Ø MM

7 $\text{[מְצַפִּים]} = \text{OLMDV RB}$ 8 $\text{[מְצַפִּים]} = \text{D } \dot{\text{ו}} \text{ח } \dot{\text{ל}} \mid \text{VM } \dot{\text{ל}} \mid < \text{OLRB}$ 9 $\text{[מְצַפִּים]} \emptyset \text{OLMDB}$
 $\mid \text{V } \dot{\text{ל}} \text{מצפים}$

Masoretic cumulative note (in the upper margin) not related to the biblical text of this folio but related to the gate with pillars image made in micrography

/ Exod 27:10 & Exod 38:10 / Exod 27:13 & Exod 38:13 / Exod 27:14 & Exod 38:14
Exod 27:15 & Exod 38:15 / & ? Exod 27:16

¹ See also in Vat14, f. 94r and 109v; in O, ff. 67v–68v and 82v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 157–158, 159–160 and 189–190; in L, ff. 47r and 55r; in M, ff. 26v–27r and see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 90–95; in V, ff. 38r–39v and 55v; in R, f. 66r; in B, ff. 50v–51r and 59v.

i The calligraphic form of the Masoretic accent *zarka* on the last letter is similar in V and B.

CMu קדמאה¹⁰ ועמדיו עשרים (Exod 27:10) תינינא עמודיהם עשרים (Exod 38:10) קדמאה ורחב החצר לפאת קדמה מזרחה (Exod 27:13) תינינא ולפאת קדמה מזרחה (Exod 38:13) 1/ CMfig קדמה קדמאה וחמש עשרה אמה קלעים לכתף (Exod 27:14) תינינא חמש עשרה [ה] אמה (Exod 38:14) [תינינא] ולכתף השנית חמש עשרה אמה (Exod 38:15) תינינא ולכתף השנית (Exod 27:15) [?] [י] לשער החצר (Exod 27:16) [[Exod 38:16]]ⁱⁱⁱ

קדמאה חמש אמות ארך רחב (27:1) ~ Vat14^(on Exod 38:10–15 in f. 109v, all instances from Exodus) קדמאה וכן לפאת צפון בארך (27:11) קדמאה עמודיהם ארבעה מצע פס (27:16) וקדמאה ורחב החצר לפאת ים (27:12) תנינא חמש אמות ארכו רחבו (38:1) תינינא ולפאת צפון מאה באמה (38:11) תנינא קדמאה את חצר ~ V^(MMu/MMI in f. 39r) | ועמדיהם ארבעה רא פס (38:19) תינינא ולפאת ים קלעים (38:12) קלעים לחצר לפאת האחת (27:9) תנינא את החצר קלעי החצר (38:9) קדמאה לפאת קדמה מזרחה (27:13) תנינא ולפאת קדמה (38:13) [קדמאה עמודיו עשרים (27:10)] תנינא ועמודיהם עשרים ראש פסוק (38:10) וחמש עשרה אמה לכתף (27:14) תנינא חמש עשרה אל הכתף (38:14) קדמאה ולכתף (38:15) ~ M^(Ortega Monasterio 2002, 93 on Exod 27:3) | השנית חמש אמה (27:15) תנינא ולכתף השנית מזה ומזה (38:15) | < O D L R B

Exod 27:10/11 [הַעֲמָדִים]^{11iv}

MP [יֵן חֶסֶךְ]^{12v}

2a/ MMfig עמדים יֵא חֶסֶךְ וְסִימְנִיהוּ¹³ ווי העמדים קדמא (Exod 27:10) ותינינא (Exod 27:11) ולפאת (Exod 38:12) והאדנים לעמדים (Exod 38:17) והמשיני את (העמ) העמדים (Judg 16:26) ועמדים ועב (1Kgs 7:6) ויקם את העבדים^{vii} (1Kgs 7:21) 2b/ אל העמדים (Jer 27:19) {א} אל האילים (Ezek 40:49) ויעש שרשרות (2Chr 3:16) [1Kgs 7:41]^{viii}

< | יֵא חֶסֶךְ L D R | כל מֵל בֵּ מֵ יֵא חֶסֶךְ O | M = [הַעֲמָדִים] 12 = O L M D V R B = [הַעֲמָדִים] 11 כל לשון עמודי חֶסֶךְ בֵּ מֵ אֵילָן ~ B^(all instances from Exodus) | [D?] | ~ B^(Weil 558) O R L M = [הַעֲמָדִים] 13 V B עמודי דפרכת (26:32) ועשית למסך (26:37) כל עמודי החצר (27:17) ויעש לה (36:36) ואת עמודיו חמשה (36:38) עמודיהם עשרה (38:12) ולפאת צפון (38:11) עמודיהם עשרה (?38:12) ווי העמודים (?38:17) לפאת ים (38:12) עמודיו עשרה ולפאת קדמה (38:13) עמודיהם שלשה (38:14) והאדנים (38:17) | < V לעמודים (38:17) תנינא זה ויי העמודים

ii Illegible letters are written; the bottom of the pillar was first drawn and a second hand added some letters (maybe עמודי).

iii The instance of Exod 38:16 is missing. It would correspond to Exod 27:16 in other lists.

iv See folio 94r.

v See folio 94r.

vi There is a contradiction between the MM and the MP (one gives 11, the other gives 13 instances). These kinds of contradictions exist also in O, D and L.

vii The term expected is העמדים.

viii The instance 1Kgs 7:41 is probably missing, see Weil 558. In D, p. 189, on Exod 38, there are 2 lists on העמודים: 3 cases plene in the Pentateuch (with waw) and 11 cases defective (without waw). In V, on Exod 38:11, there are 12 cases defective for עמודים. This indicates that there are several transmissions of this list.

^{14ix}[עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם] Exod 38:12

^{15x}[ד' מל'] MP

עמודיהם ד' מל' וסימני^{16 xi} {לכ' } ולכתף השנית {מ} מזה ומזה (Exod 27:15) לשער
(Exod 38:15) החצר (Exod 27:16) חמש עשרה עמודיהם

ע- 16 [עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם] = O L M D V | < B 15 עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם ~ B | עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם ~ O D M V R | ~ O D M V R [עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם] = L 14
ע- 16 [עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם] ~ B | עמודיהם ד' מל' ~ B [עֲמֻדֵי־הֶם] ~ O L M R (Weil 643) | < D V

Other Texts

Addendum on Exod 26:19:

תַּחֲתֵּי

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לִּ? \ קִ? ^{xii}

ix See folio 109v.

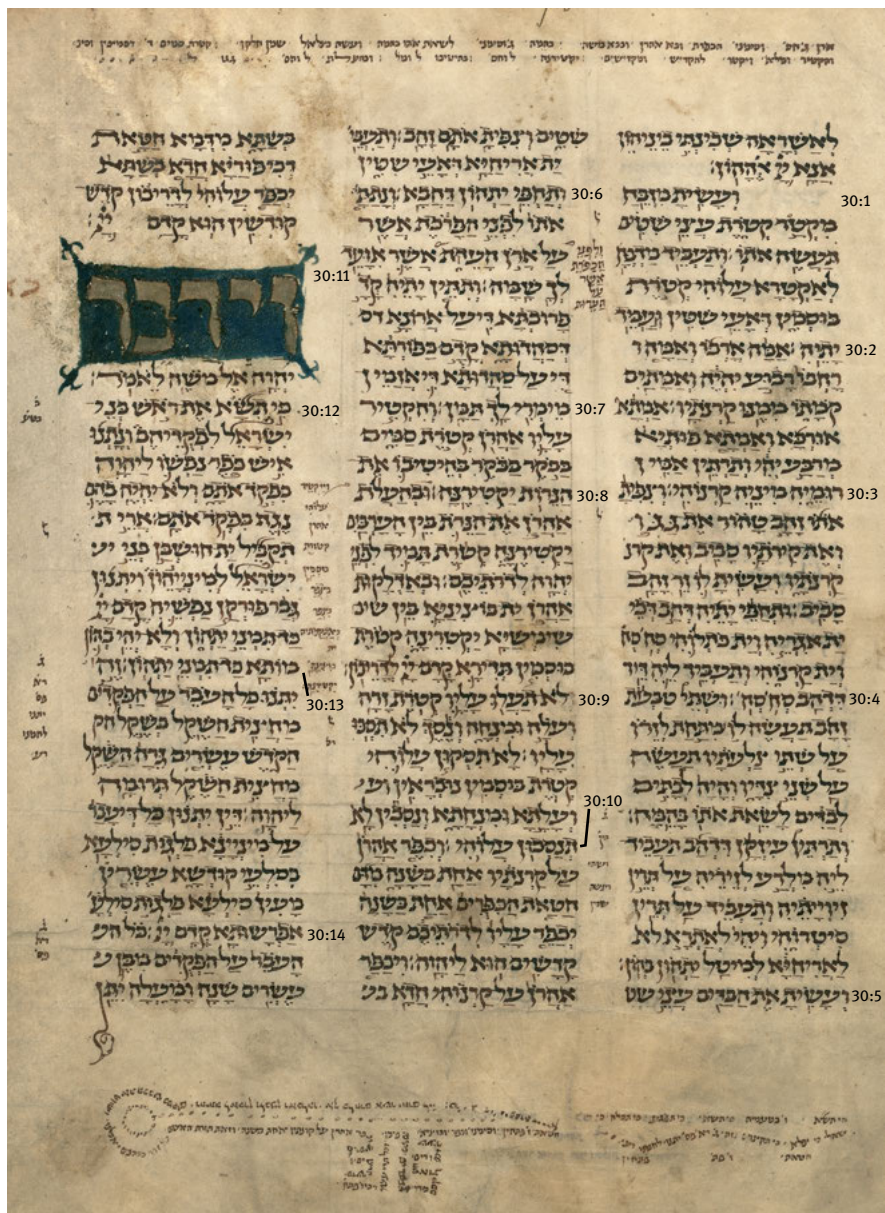
x See folio 109v.

xi There are several traditions of these lists.

xii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 9: f. 98r, Exodus 30:1–30:14

Key



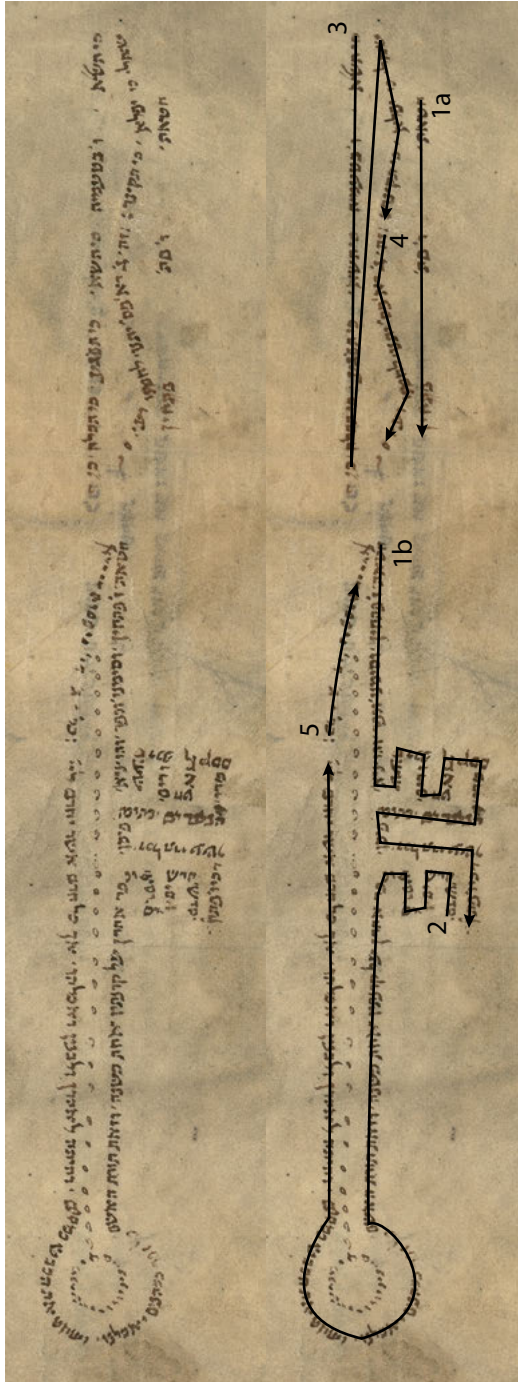


Figure 9: Case 9, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 30:1–30:14¹

מִקְטָרִי Exod 30:1

לֵי MP

לֵי MM

1 [מִקְטָרִי] = O D L M V R | ~ B מִקְטָרִי? 2 [מִקְטָרִי] = O D L M V R | ~ B מִקְטָרִי (in a list of *casus lêt*)

3 [מִקְטָרִי] Ø O D L M V R B

גִּגְוִי Exod 30:3

לֵי MP

גִּגְוִי MMu

4 [גִּגְוִי] = O D L M V B R 5 [גִּגְוִי] ~ O L M V R ḏ | ~ D ḏ | < B 6 [גִּגְוִי] < O D L (but Weil 641) M V R B

בְּהֶמָּה Exod 30:4

(Hab 1:16) שֶׁמֶן (Exod 36:1) וְעֵשָׂה (Exod 30:4) וְשֵׁנִי MP

MMu בְּהֶמָּה גִּ וְשֵׁנִי לְשֵׁאת אֹתוֹ בְּהֶמָּה (Exod 30:4) וְעֵשָׂה בְּצִלָּאֵל (Exod 36:1) שֶׁמֶן חֲלָקוֹ

(Hab 1:16)

7 [בְּהֶמָּה] = O D L M V R | ~ B בְּהֶמָּה 8 [בְּהֶמָּה] = B | ~ O D L M V R ḏ 9 [בְּהֶמָּה] O L R (Weil 579)

| ~ M (extended, Ortega Monasterio 2002, 114) | < D V? B

אֶרְנֶן Exod 30:6

לֵי MP

(Num 7:89) וּבָבָא מֹשֶׁה (Num 4:5) וּבָא אֶהֱרֵן (Exod 30:6) הַכֹּפֶרֶת¹² חֵס וְשֵׁנִי¹⁰ MMu

10 [אֶרְנֶן] = O D L M V R B 11 [אֶרְנֶן] Ø L V B | O D R M ḏ חֵס 12 [אֶרְנֶן] < O D L M V R B

¹ In O, ff. 72v–73r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 168–169; in L, ff. 49v–50r; in M, f. 28v and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 113–115; in V, ff. 44r–44v; in R, ff. 69v–70r; in B, ff. 53r–v.

Exod 30:7 קְטֹרֶת סָמִים¹³¹⁴MP ØMMu קטרת סמים ד' דסמיכין וסימ¹⁵ⁱ והקטיר (Exod 30:7) ומלא (Lev 16:12) ויקטרⁱⁱ[2 Chr 13:11] ומקדישים (2Chr 2:3) להקדיש (Exod 40:27)

13 [קְטֹרֶת סָמִים] = O L D M R V | ~ B קְטֹרֶת סָמִים 14 [קְטֹרֶת סָמִים] Ø M V B | O L D ד' |
 R ה' 15 [קְטֹרֶת סָמִים] = O L (Weil 580) R (ה') | ~ D ד' (without 2Chr 2:3) | < M V B

Exod 30:7 בְּהִיטִיבֹ¹⁶¹⁷Ø MPMMu בהיטיב ל' ומל¹⁸

16 [בְּהִיטִיבֹ] = O L R B | ~ D M V בְּהִיטִיבֹ 17 [בְּהִיטִיבֹ] Ø O | D M V R B ל' ל' ומל
 < O D L M V R B

Exod 30:8 וְהִעֲלֹתָ¹⁹²⁰Ø MPMMu ובהעלת ל' וחס²¹ⁱⁱⁱ

19 [וְהִעֲלֹתָ] = O D L M V R B 20 [וְהִעֲלֹתָ] Ø B | O בהעלות ל' ל' וחד בהעלות Ø B | O (= Weil 581) בלש ד' | D L R ל' |
 M V וחס 21 [וְהִעֲלֹתָ] = O (CM) בהעלת ל' ובהעלות ל' < D L (Weil 581) | < M V R B

Exod 30:9 וְעֹלָה [וּמִנְחָה]²²²³ל' דס' MP^{24iv}Ø MM

22 [וְעֹלָה וּמִנְחָה] = O D L M V R B 23 [וְעֹלָה וּמִנְחָה] = O | ~ D L V R ב' < M B 24 [וְעֹלָה וּמִנְחָה]
 Ø L M V R B | O (CM) ועלה ומנחה | D סגרו דלתות האולם | ועלה ב' וסימנהון לא תעלו עליו גם סגרו דלתות האולם

ⁱ Four cases announced but generally an additional case is also given.

ⁱⁱ The list is composed of 4 instances and one additional. The last instance most likely contains a mistake: ומקטרים instead of ומקדישים.

ⁱⁱⁱ Elijah wrote probably a MP note instead of a MM note.

^{iv} The MM in D refers to the term ועלה (*we-’olah*).

³⁶לֵל Exod 30:14³⁷גִּי רֵא פֶסֶק MP³⁸כָּל גִּי רֵא פֶסֶק /5/ MMfig

36 [לֵל] = O D L M V R | ~ B לֵל 37 [לֵל] ~ D בִּי | ~ O בִּי רֵא פֶסֶק | < L M V R B 38 [לֵל] <
O D L M [[V]] R B

Other Texts

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לֵל \ לֵל^{vii}

Addendum on Exod 30:6 in the margin, not from Elijah ha-Naqdan:

וְלִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים אֲשֶׁר עַל הָעֵדוּת

Addendum of the entire verse of the Targum on Exod 30:7, by Elijah ha-Naqdan.

vii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 10: f. 100v, Exodus 32:13–32:25

Broken Tables beneath Mount Horeb



Plate 10: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 100v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

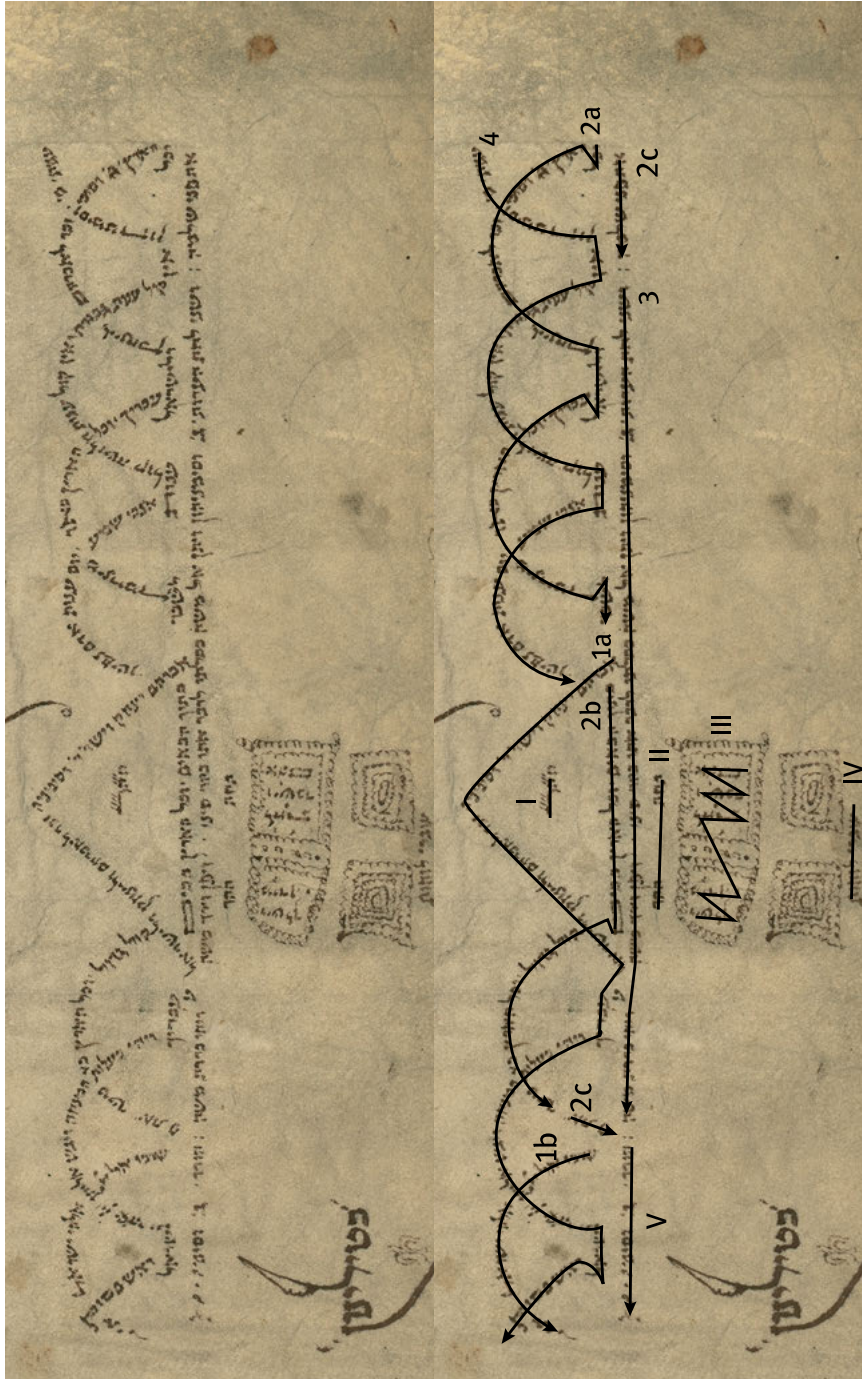


Figure 10: Case 10, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 32:13–32:25¹[הַנִּיחָה¹] Exod 32:10[²Ø MP]

MMu הניחה לי ב' וסימניהו³ עתה הניחה לי ויחר אפי בהם (Exod 32:10) הניחה אתי והמישיני
(Judg 16:26)

1 הַנִּיחָה 3 ל' M | ב' והמישיני D | ב' O L V R | Ø B | הַנִּיחָה 2 הַנִּיחָה B | ~ B הַנִּיחָה 1 = O D L M V R |
< O [D?] L M [[V]] R B

[לְאַבְרָהָם לִיצְחָק וְלִיִּשְׂרָאֵל⁴ⁱⁱ] Exod 32:13[⁵Ø MP]

MMfig \1a\ אברהם יצחק וישר' ד' וסימניה⁶ זכר לאברהם וליצחק ולישראל עבדיך
(Exod 32:13) ויהי בעלות המנחה ויגש אליהו (1Kgs 18:36) יי אלהי [אברהם יצחק ו] ישראל
ראש פסוק (1Chr 29:18) \1b\ שובו אל יי אלהי ישראל א' (2Chr 30:6)

4 לְאַבְרָהָם = O D L M V R B 5 לְאַבְרָהָם Ø O L B R | < D M V ד' 6 לְאַבְרָהָם = D M [V ?]
(Weil 4147) | < O R B

[וְלִיִּשְׂרָאֵל⁷ⁱⁱⁱ] Exod 32:13[⁸ⁱ MP]⁹Ø MM

7 וְלִיִּשְׂרָאֵל = O D L M V R B 8 וְלִיִּשְׂרָאֵל = D L R | < [O?] M V B 9 וְלִיִּשְׂרָאֵל Ø R | O D L
M V B (Weil 967)

¹⁰וְכָל־הָאָרֶץ Exod 32:13¹¹Ø MP

MMfig \2a\ וכל הארץ ה' וסימ¹² זכר לאברהם ליצחק ולישראל עבדיך (Exod 32:13) וכל הארץ
באו מצרימה לשבר \2b\ בתוך הבאים^{iv} (Gen 41:57) וכל הארץ בכים קול גדול (2Sam 15:23)
וכל הארץ {ב} ביער \2c\ (1Sam 14:25) {את פ} את פני שלמה (1Kgs 10:24)

¹ In O, ff. 74v–75r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, pp. 173–174; in L, ff. 51r; in M, ff. 29v–30r and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 125–128; in V, ff. 46v–47r; in R, f. 71; in B, ff. 54v–55r.

ⁱ Lemma and MP on f. 100r.

ⁱⁱ Lemma and MP on f. 100r.

ⁱⁱⁱ Lemma on f. 100r. MP facing Targum.

^{iv} Refers to Gen 42:5.

$$(\text{Weil } 310) < O [D?] L^{(\text{but Weil } 310)} M [[V?]] B$$

13v לַעֲלֹם Exod 32:13

¹⁴יֵהּ חֵם MP

15viØ MM

13 $[\text{לְעֵלָם}] = \text{ODLMVRB}$ 14 $[\text{לְעֵלָם}] = \text{ODLV} | < \text{MRB}$ 15 $[\text{לְעֵלָם}] \emptyset \text{ODL}^{(\text{but Weil } 25)} \text{MRV}$
 לעלם i חס באוריתא וסימנהון לא ידון רוחי באדם זה שמי לעלם יי ימלך ועבדו לעלם אות הוא לעלם B
 ונלחו לעלם והתנחלתם לבבם

Exod 32:15 וּשְׁנֵי לַחַת הָעֵדוּת¹⁶

¹⁷Ø MP

MMfig\3\ ושני לכת העדות g וסימניהון¹⁸ ויתן אל משה ככלתו לדבר אתו בהר סיני (Exod 31:18) ויפו וירד משה (Exod 32:15) ויהי ברדת משה (Exod 34:29)

16 $\bar{\kappa}_{\bar{\kappa}}[\bar{\kappa}] = \text{ODLMVRB}$ **17** $\bar{\kappa}_{\bar{\kappa}}[\bar{\kappa}] \emptyset \text{ODVRB} | \text{LM} \dot{\iota}$ **18** $\bar{\kappa}_{\bar{\kappa}}[\bar{\kappa}] < \text{ODLMVRB}$

19 כְּתָבִים Exod 32:15

²⁰օռ ի MP

 $^{21}\text{Ø MM}$

19 [כְּתָבִים] = ODL MVRB 20 [כְּתָבִים] OMRB | כל אורי | התו חס' D | LV | חס' D | 21 [כְּתָבִים]
 כתבים כל אוריתא חס' \ ל כתבים ל כת כן B | Ø ODL MVR

Exod 32:16 מַעֲשֵׂה אֱלֹהִים²²

²³סד ה MP

 $24\varnothing$ MM

22 מַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים ~ ODL M V R B | < B V 23 מַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים ~ ODL M R 5 | < B V 24 מַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים ~ ODL M [V?] R B | O ^(CM) 5

v The *waw* has been erased.

vi The only manuscript that has the MM in Exod 32:13 is B, but it seems that B contained more verses than the number it indicated. See Weil 25.

Exod 32:16 מִכְתָּב²⁵MP²⁶ Ø

MMu מכתב דִּי־vii בתרי לישני בתורה²⁷ והמכתב מכתב אלהים (Exod 32:16) מכתב לחזקיהו
בנביאים (Isa 38:9) במלכים ובדברי (2Chr 36:22) ויכתבו עליו מכתב פתוחי חתם קדש לִי־י
(Exod 39:30) בִּזְבוּתָו וְאֵל בְּנֵי

25 [מִכְתָּב] = O D L M V R B 26 [מִכְתָּב] Ø L M V R B | O D לִי 27 [מִכְתָּב] < O D L M V R B

Exod 32:16 חֲרוֹת²⁸MP²⁹ לִיMM³⁰ Ø

28 [חֲרוֹת] = O D L M V R | ~ B חֲרוֹת 29 [חֲרוֹת] = O D L R | < M V B 30 [חֲרוֹת] Ø O D L M V R B

Exod 32:17 בְּרַעָה³¹MP³² לִיMM³³ Ø

עו קרִי' ~ D | ~ לִי R | ~ לִי וְכַתָּה L V | ~ לִי וְכַתָּה בֵּן O M B ~ [בְּרַעָה] 31 [בְּרַעָה] = O D L M V R B 32 [בְּרַעָה] Ø O D M V B L (but Weil 598; Cassuto 1989, 17) 33 [בְּרַעָה] לִי וְכַתָּה \ יֵב מִלִּין בְּתוֹ כְּתָבָה וְקָרָא וְ

Exod 32:18 עֲנֹת³⁴MP בִּזְבוּתָו יוֹם (Isa 58:5)³⁵

MMfig \4 עֲנֹת בִּזְבוּתָו וְסִימְנִיהוֹן³⁶ אֵין קוֹל עֲנֹת גְּבוּרָה וְאֵין קוֹל עֲנֹת חִלּוּשָׁה קוֹל עֲנֹת אֲנָכִי שִׁמְעָה
(Exod 32:18) יוֹם עֲנֹת אָדָם נִפְשׁוֹ (Isa 58:5)

34 [עֲנֹת] = O D L M V R B 35 [עֲנֹת] = O D L V R | ~ M | < B 36 [עֲנֹת] = O D (Weil 2124) L V | < M R B

Exod 32:19 מִיָּדוֹ³⁷MP דִּי קָ וְהָ חֵס³⁸

MMu מִיָּדוֹ הָ חֵס וְסִימְנִי³⁹ וְיֵשָׁה אֶהְרֹן אֶת (Lev 9:22) וְסִמְךָ דִּשְׁעִיר (Lev 16:21) יִמְחֹץ וְיִדּוֹ
תִּרְפִּינָה (Job 5:18) וְיִשְׁלַךְ⁴⁰ אֶהְרֹן (Exod 32:19)

vii The scribe corrected בִּזְבוּתָו to דִּי.

מידין M | ה כתב כן \ מידין ק D | ה כתב כן O ~ [מִיִּדּוֹ 38] ~ B | מִיִּדּוֹ B | O D L V R M = [מִיִּדּוֹ 38]
 [מִיִּדּוֹ 39] < B | מידין ק R | ה חס דיו קרי מידין ה חס V | ה חס L | ק \ ה כתיבין ידו וקרין ידיו
 = D R | < O D L M [[V ?]] B

⁴⁰וַיִּטְחֶן Exod 32:20

⁴¹לֵּי MP

⁴²Ø MM

[וַיִּטְחֶן] Ø O D L M V R B | מיטחן ~ B [וַיִּטְחֶן] = D L M R | < O V B 42 [וַיִּטְחֶן] Ø O D L M
 V R B

⁴³וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֵּי Exod 32:23

⁴⁴(Neh 1:3) מִן דֵּס הַנְּשֹׂאִים MP

⁴⁵Ø MM

[וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֵּי] ~ O D L M V R B | וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֵּי B | וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֵּי 44 = D M | ~ L V R B | <
 O B 45 [וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֵּי] Ø O D L M V R B

⁴⁶וְהִתְפַּרְקוּ Exod 32:24

⁴⁷לֵּי MP

⁴⁸Ø MM

[וְהִתְפַּרְקוּ] = O D L M V R B 47 [וְהִתְפַּרְקוּ] = O D L R | < M V B 48 [וְהִתְפַּרְקוּ] Ø O D L M
 V R B

⁴⁹וְרָעָה Exod 32:25

⁵⁰(Lev 13:45) מִן רֹאשׁוֹ MP

⁵¹Ø MM

בִּחַד O D L | לֵּי חס ואֵל מִלֵּי B | בִּחַד חס וחד חס V = [וְרָעָה 50] = O D L M V R B [וְרָעָה 49]
 בִּחַד חס וחד מִלֵּי וסמנ רֹאשׁוֹ M | D L ^(Weil 599) Ø O V R B | לֵּי כתיב כן M | חס וחד מִלֵּי
 יהיה פרוע כי פרע הוא

Other Texts

MM anticipating on הורד in Exod 33:5:

V הורד ג' וסימ^{viii}

Captions quoting Exod 32:19 and describing the figurative form and its elements (the Mount; beneath the Mount, the unbroken and then the broken tables):

I ההר

II תחת ההר

III תחת ההר וישלך מידו [את ה]לחת וישבר אתם

IV שברי לוחות

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לק^{ix}

Addendum of the entire verse of the Targum on Exod 32:14, in the margin, not from Elijah ha-Naqdan.

^{viii} This MM exists in Vat14, f. 101v, on סמני' עדיך המים באף (see Weil 604).

^{ix} See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 11: f. 101r, Exodus 32:26–33:1

“Every son of Levi is now a sword” (Exod 32:27)¹



Plate 11: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 101r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

¹ Injunction of Moses to Levites (Exod 32:27).

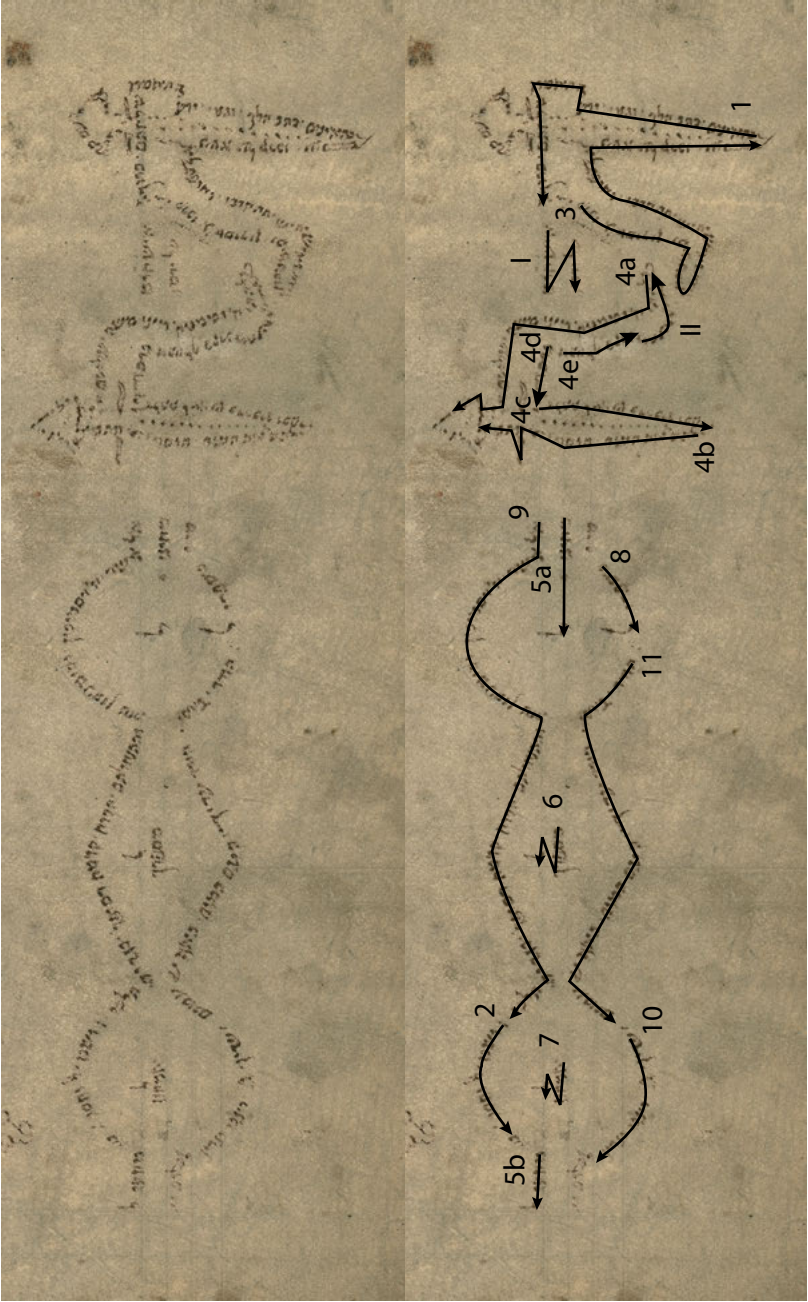


Figure 11: Case 11, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 32:26–33:1¹

¹וַיִּסְפָּן Exod 32:26

²Ø MP

MMu ויאספו יב וסימני כל בני לוי (Exod 32:26) חמשת (Josh 10:5) שכם (Judg 9:6) בני

עמון (Judg 10:17) בנימין (Judg 20:14) פלשתים (1Sam 17:1) ארם (2Sam 10:15) ירושלים

(2Chr 30:13) החדש השביעי כאיש אחד (Ezra 3:1) המשררים (Neh 12:28)

[Neh 7:1 and 2Sam 10:15]ⁱ³

1 [ויאספֿו] = V | ~ O D L M R | ויאספֿו B | ויאספֿו ? 2 [ויאספֿו] $\emptyset$ L M B | O D V R | יב 3 [ויאספֿו]

O D V(Ginsburg 1880, I 102, No. 1011 and 4, 120, No. 1011) | < L M R B

Exod 32:27 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל⁴ⁱⁱ

MP כֹּבֶד־דָּם⁵

MMu {ה} כה אמר יי' אלהי ישראל כב דס וסימנ⁶ ואמר באו משה (Exod 5:1) שימו איש חרבו

(Exod 32:27) בעבר הנהר (Josh 24:2) וישלח (Judg 6:8) העלתי (1Sam 10:18) משחתיד

(2Kgs 22:15 & 2Chr 34:23) אמרו וחבירו (2Kgs 19:20) והתפללתי (2Sam 12:7 or 2Kgs 9:6)

ולמלך יהודה (2Kgs 22:18 & 2Chr 34:26) ארור (Jer 11:3) גיבל (Jer 13:12) הנני מסב

iii(Jer 21:4)

MMfig 1\ בתאינים (Jer 24:5) כתב (Jer 30:2) הלך (Jer 34:2) [iv?] (Jer 34:13?) תאמר

^v{(Jer 37:7) שלחתם (Jer 42:9) ברוד (Jer 45:2) {הנני מסב (Jer 21:4)}

ב' בתורה באו משה ואהרן ודין ~ M כד' ~ O V R | D = [ב'ה'אמר 5 O D L M V B = [ב'ה'אמר 4

< L B 6 [כֹּה-אָמַר] ~ D like Vat14 with לבני אמרי לירבעם. ואמרת. לבו ירשו דדברי הימים | ~ R(24 occurrences very similar to Vat14) <

$$O L M [[V]] B$$

7 וְשָׁבוּ Exod 32:27

$$^8\text{MP} \lesssim \text{MP}$$

MMor\2\ ושבּוּ לִי וְחַסֵּנִי⁹

ל' ומל' RB | ל' ומל' בתור V ~ | ג' מל' בתו בלש DLM ~ | ושבו' 8 ושבו' ODL MVRB ~ | ושבו' 7

$$\langle 0 \quad 9 \quad \text{ושׁבו} \rangle \langle 0 \text{ D L}^{(\text{Weil 1087})} \text{ M } [[V?]] \text{ R B}$$

¹ In O, see ff. 75r–75v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 174–175; in L, ff. 51r–51v; in M, ff. 30r–30v, and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 128–130; in V, ff. 47r–47v; in R, f. 72r; in B, ff. 55r–55v.

i The list is incomplete from two occurrences.

ii Sometimes the lemma is **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** or **וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם**.

iii The list continues in the MM placed in the lower margin.

iv Illegible.

v List completed with a repetition at the end. The list in D is very similar.

Exod 32:27 קָרְבוֹ¹⁰MP ז חס ו¹¹

MMfig \3 קרבו ג חסירין וסימניהון¹² {ואיש} ואיש את קרבו (Exod 32:27) והרפה לא נשא על קרבו (Ps 15:3) עם (Ps 148:14)

10 [קָרְבוֹ] = O D L M V R B 11 [קָרְבוֹ] = O D L M V R | < B 12 [קָרְבוֹ] = O D L (Weil 600) M | < [[V?]] R B

Exod 32:29 וּבָאֲחִיו¹³MP ל¹⁴MM Ø¹⁵

13 [וּבָאֲחִיו] = O D L M R B | ~ V וּבָאֲחִיו 14 [וּבָאֲחִיו] = R | < O D L M V 15 [וּבָאֲחִיו] Ø O D L M [[V?]] R B

Exod 32:29 וּלְתֵת¹⁶MP Ø¹⁷

MMfig \4a ולתת ח וסימניה¹⁸ ויצו (Gen 42:25) משה עליכם (Exod 32:29) ולתת^{vi} את העיר (Jer 19:12) הוסר התמיד (Da 12:11) ולתת לאיש כדרכיו וכפרי (Jer 17:10) ולתת\ \4d הרבותיו (Ezra 9:9) \4e מתהלך בקרב (Deut 23:15) [vii?]

16 [וּלְתֵת] = O D L M V R | ~ B וּלְתֵת 17 [וּלְתֵת] O D L M V R ח B ל¹⁸ 18 [וּלְתֵת] O D L (Weil 601) R | < M [[V?]] B

Exod 32:30 אֶכְפְּרָהּ¹⁹MP ב²⁰MM Ø²¹

19 [אֶכְפְּרָהּ] = O D L M V R B 20 [אֶכְפְּרָהּ] = L M V R | ~ O ב כו ב פניו ב אמר D | < B 21 [אֶכְפְּרָהּ] Ø O D L M [[V?]] R B

Exod 32:32 מַחֲיֵי²²MP ל²³MMor \5a, 5b מחיני ל²⁴

vi Illegible.

vii Illegible.

22 [מִתְּנֵי] = O D L M V R B 23 [מִתְּנֵי] = D L M V R | < O B 24 [מִתְּנֵי] < O D L M V R B

25 מִסְפָּרָיְךָ Exod 32:32

26 לֵּי MP

27 לֵּי \6\ M Mor מספרך

25 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] = O D L M V R B 26 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] = D L M V R B | < O 27 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] < O D L M V R

28 אֶמְחֶנּוּ Exod 32:33

29 לֵּי MP

30 לֵּי \7\ M Mor אֶמְחֶנּוּ

28 [אֶמְחֶנּוּ] = O D L M V R B 29 [אֶמְחֶנּוּ] = O L M R | < D V B 30 [אֶמְחֶנּוּ] < O D L M V R B

31 מִסְפָּרָיְךָ Exod 32:33

32 לֵּי MP

33 לֵּי \8\ M Mor מספרי

31 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] = O D L M V R B 32 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] = D L M | < O V R B 33 [מִסְפָּרָיְךָ] < O D L M V R B

34 אֶל־אֱשֶׁר Exod 32:34

35 הֵּ דֵס MP

9\ MMor אל אשר ה' דסמיכין וסימניהון³⁶ נחה (Exod 32:34) והתנחלתם (Num 33:54) הרוח
קדמה דסיפ' (Ezek 1:12) בגדים (Ezek 42:14) תלכו (Ruth 1:16)

34 [אֶל־אֱשֶׁר] = V | ~ O D L M R B אֶל־אֱשֶׁר־ 35 [אֶל־אֱשֶׁר] = D L V R | < O M B 36 [אֶל־אֱשֶׁר]
= O L (Weil 602) | < D M [[V?]] R B

37 וַיִּגָּף Exod 32:35

38 לֵּי MP

39 Ø MM

37 [וַיִּגָּף] = O D L M V R B 38 [וַיִּגָּף] = O | < D L M V R B 39 [וַיִּגָּף] Ø O D L M V R B

Exod 33:1 וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה⁴⁰MP ט חס לאמר⁴¹MM Ø⁴²

ג בתו D | ~ ; בתור L V R ~ [וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה] 41 וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה O D L M V R B D ~ [וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה] 40
וידבר יהוה אל משה לך : חס לאמר וסי V | Ø O L M B [וַיִּדְבֹּר יְהוָה] 42 < O M B | לאמר דחס
מנהון לך רד לך עלה מזה אחרי מות שני בני אהרן בהר יהוה סיני דשביעית במדבר סיני דריש
ידבר יי אל משה : וסימנהון לך R | סיפרא במדבר סיני דפסח בערבית מואב וחברו בעצם היום הזה
וידבר יי אל משה D | עלה מזה אמרי מות בהר דשביעי במדבר ריש פס סני דפסח בערבית בעצם
לך רד לך עלה אחרי מות דחס לאמר ג בתורה

Exod 33:1 הָעֲלִיתָ⁴³MP ג⁴⁴MM Ø⁴⁵

ג קדמא הָעֲלִיתָ תנינא V | ~ O D L R B [הָעֲלִיתָ] 44 הָעֲלִיתָ D L V | ~ O M R B [הָעֲלִיתָ] 43
הָעֲלִיתָ M < | העלית Ø O D M B | L V R (Weil 603) 45 הָעֲלִיתָ < M | העלית

Exod 33:4 [עֲדִין] 46viii

MP [Ø⁴⁷](Ps 32:9) לבלום (Ezek 7:20) וצבי עדיו ג⁴⁸ (Exod 33:4) MMor \10\ עדין

ג א בתו א בנביא א V | ל וב בתרי ליש M | ג D L R | Ø O B [עֲדִין] 47 O D L M V R B [עֲדִין] 46
בכתובים R B [[V?]] L (Weil 2796) < O [[D?]] M (Weil 2796) = M [עֲדִין] 48 בכתובים

Exod 33:5 [הוֹרֵד] 49ix

MP [Ø⁵⁰]

MMor \11\ הורד ג וסי⁵¹ הורד עדיך (Exod 33:5) העם המים (Judg 7:4) באף עמים (Ps 56:8)
MMu הורד ג וסימנהון עדיך המים באף^x

= [הוֹרֵד] 51 ג אל המים אלהים V | ג D L M R | Ø O B [הוֹרֵד] 50 O D L M V R B [הוֹרֵד] 49
= [[D]] L M (Weil 604) R < O [[V?]] B

viii See the lemma and MP in Vat14, f. 101v.

ix See the lemma and MP in Vat14, f. 101v.

x See Vat14, f. 101v.

Other Texts

Caption:

(Exod 32:27) איש חרבו על ירכו I

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לִקְ\ לִקְ^{xi}

Illegible text: see II.

xi See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 12: f. 104r, Exodus 35:1–35:15

Menorah (from the Tabernacle)

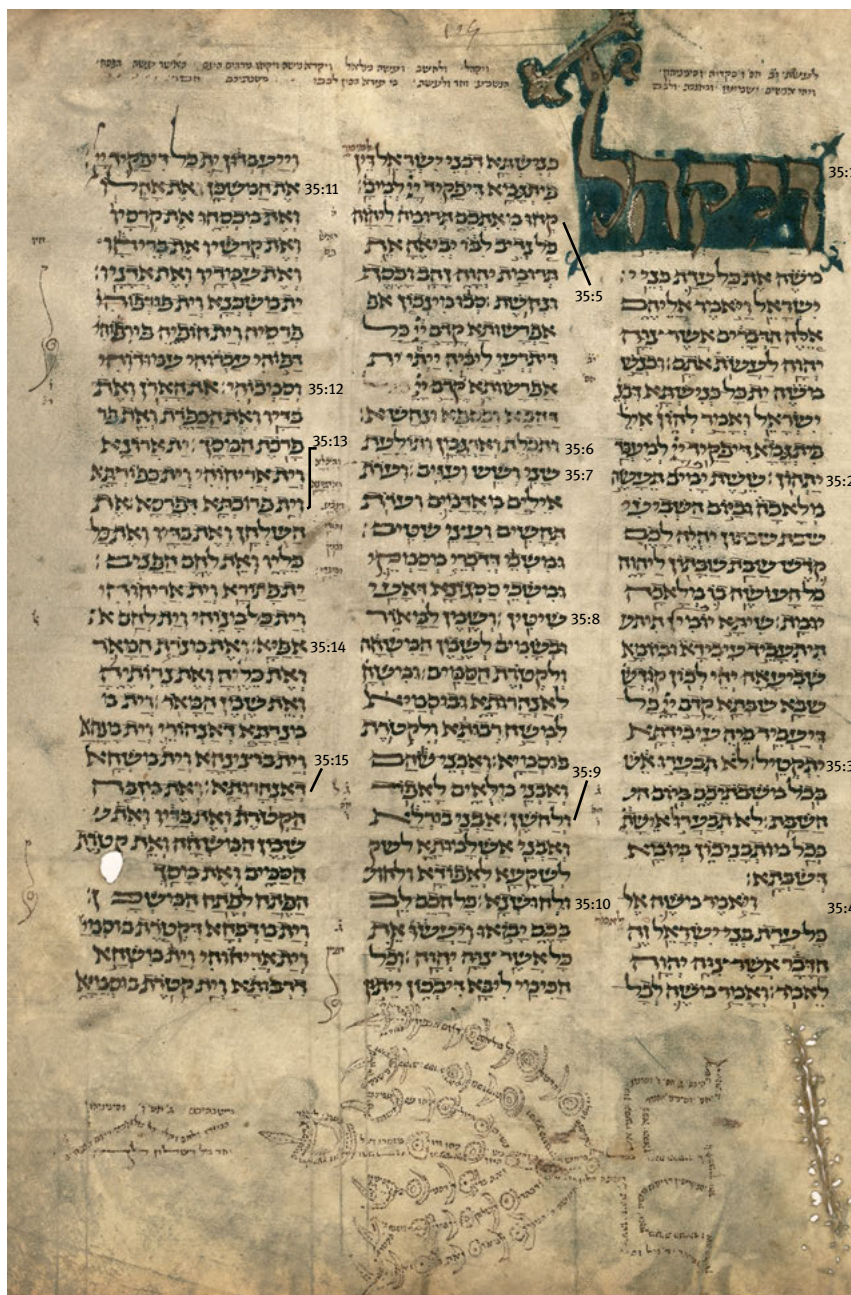


Plate 12: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 104r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Figure 12: Case 12, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exodus 35:1–35:15¹

[לְרֵאֶתⁱ] Exod 33:20

[גַּחַס וְיִיⁱⁱ] MP

[?] (Exod 10:5) פַּּ בֹּא (Gen 11:3 / Gen 11:5) לַחֲמֹר וְסִימָנִי³ לַחֲמֹר /1/ MMfig

1 [לְרֵאֶת] = O D L V M V R B 2 [לְרֵאֶת] = O D M V R | < L B 3 [לְרֵאֶת] = L^(Weil 608) V B | < O D M R

¹ In O, ff. 76v, 77v–78r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 177, 180–181; in L, ff. 52v–53r; in M, ff. 30r, 31r–31v, and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 143–145; in V, ff. 48v, 50v–51r; in R, f. 72v, 74r; in B, ff. 56r, 56v–57r.

ⁱ From f. 102r.

ⁱⁱ From f. 102r.

Exod 35:1 לַעֲשֶׂת⁴MP יב חס⁵

MMu לעשת יב חס ו בקריה וסימניהו⁶ ויקהל (Exod 35:1) ולחשב (Exod 35:32) ועשה בצלאל
(Exod 36:1) ויקרא משה (Exod 36:2) ויקחו (Exod 36:3) מרבים העם (Exod 36:5) כאשר
עשה (Lev 8:34) הפסח (Num 9:4) ויהי אנשים (Num 9:6) ישמעיו (Neh 8:15) ובחנכה
(Neh 12:27) וילכם הנשמע (Neh 13:27) וחד ולעשת כי עזרא הכין לבבו (Ezra 7:10)

לעשת 4 = O D L M V R B 5 [לַעֲשֶׂת] = O L M V B | ~ D R חס⁶ יג חס וסימניהו ויקהל משה ולחשב מחשבת ועשה בצלאל ויקרא משה ויקחו מלפני משה ויאמרו אל
משה כאשר עשה ביום וידבר משה דפסח ויהי אנשים כי עזרא הכין ואשר ישמעיו ובחנכת חומת ולכם
[O L [[V?]] B < | R (13 but 12 indicated without Esr 7:10) הנשמע ~

Exod 35:3 מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם⁷MP י חס ו⁸

MMu משבתיכם חסר (Exod 35:3)

2a/ MMfig משבתיכם י חס ו וסימניהו תבערו אש בכל משבתיכם (Exod 35:3) ולחם וקלי
וכרמל (Lev 23:14) כל מלאכה דיום הכפורי[ם] | תראה (Lev 23:31) וחד דשלח ל[ך] [?] [?]
משבתיכם כתיבⁱⁱⁱ (Num 15:2)

2b/ MMor [משבתיכם י חס ו וסימניהו⁹ תבערו (Exod 35:3) ולחם וקלי (Lev 23:14) כל
מלאכה דיום הכפורים (Lev 23:31) וחד מל [פרשת] דשלח לך^{iv}]

י חס ו | סימן י חס ו = L D M V | ~ O חס ו [מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם] = L D M V R | ~ B מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם 7
לא תבערו אש ולחם וקלי וכרמל כל מלאכה O | ~ O חס ו [מִשְׁבְּתֵיכֶם] = D M (Weil 798) 9 ב חס ויו B | בתו
ראש פס דאך בעשור משבתיכם כתב בכל מושבותיכם הערים ממדבר דבלתה מושבותיכם מושבותיהם
משבתיכם י חס וסימניהו לא תבערו אש בכל משבתיכם ולחם וקלי V | ~ V כתב ושאר מושבותיהם כתב
וכרמל כל מלאכה לא תעשו דכפורים בכל משבתיכם הערים תחרבנה ממדבר דבלתה מושבותיהם מש-
משבתיכם לא תבערו אש ולחם וקלי וכרמל כל R | ~ R בתיכם כתב ושאר משבתיכם מושבותיהם כתב
משתיכם ב חס ויו תבערו ולחם וקלי כל מלאכה דכפורים B | ~ B מלאכה לא תעשו י כת כן כתו וסימניהו
< L

Exod 35:5 קחו¹⁰MP ה ראש פס¹¹3/ MMfig קחו ה ראש פסוקים וסימ¹² תרומה (Exod 35:5) [?] מן העם (Josh 4:2) {נש}

נשים והולידו (Jer 29:6) קחו {עם} עמכם דברים ושובו (Hos 14:3) קחו {מו} מוסרי ואל כסף
(Prov 8:10)

iii The case in Vat14 (Num 15:2) is indeed *plene* and is included in the biblical section *Shelach lecha* (Num 13:1–15:41).

iv See previous footnote.

10 קָהוּ] = O D L M V R | ~ B קָהוּ 11 קָהוּ] = O D R | ~ M טָ רֹאשׁ פֶּסֶחַ < L V B 12 קָהוּ]
R (Weil 3588) | < O D L (but Weil 3588) M V B

¹³לֹאֲפֹד Exod 35:9

¹⁴וּ חֶסֶךְ MP

וְהַנְשִׂאִים (Exod 25:7; Exod 35:9) וְחִבְרֹו {וְחִבְ} וְלַחֲשֵׁן וְלַחֲשֵׁן¹⁵ חֶסֶךְ בַּתּוֹרָה¹⁵ /4/ MMfig
^{vi}(Exod 35:27)

13 לֹאֲפֹד] = V B | ~ O D L M R לֹאֲפֹד 14 לֹאֲפֹד] ~ D L M V R > | O B גַּב מִלּוֹ וְחֶדֶךְ חֶסֶךְ 15 לֹאֲפֹד]
M | < O D L V B R

¹⁶וְיַעֲשֶׂהוּ Exod 35:10

¹⁷וּ רְפִייוֹ MP

¹⁸Ø MM

16 וְיַעֲשֶׂהוּ] = O D L M V R B 17 וְיַעֲשֶׂהוּ] = D L V | < O M R B 18 וְיַעֲשֶׂהוּ] Ø O D M R B | V L (Weil 618)

¹⁹וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ Exod 35:11

²⁰Ø MP

²¹(Exod 40:18) וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ דּוֹקֵם מֹשֶׁה (Exod 35:11) וְחֶדֶךְ אֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ דּוֹקֵם מֹשֶׁה /5/ MMfig

19 וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ] = O D L M R B | ~ V וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ 20 וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ] Ø O L M V R B | D לֹא 21 וְאֶת־
וְאֶת־קֶרְשֵׁיוֹ] < O D L M V R B

²²בְּרִיחָוֹ Exod 35:11

²³חֵיוֹ קֶ MP

²⁴Ø MM

22 בְּרִיחָוֹ] = O D L M R | ~ V בְּרִיחָוֹ | ~ B בְּרִיחָוֹ 23 בְּרִיחָוֹ] = V D M | ~ O כֵּן < L | ~ חֶסֶךְ < R B 24 בְּרִיחָוֹ] Ø O [[D]] M V R B | L (Weil 619)

v This lemma in Exod 25:7 in Vat14 (f. 90r) is defective.

vi The MM note in Vat14 matches its consonantal text, always showing a defective spelling in Exodus. B follows Vat14. R follows the standard Tiberian tradition (2 cases plene and 1 defective). Interesting is the case in V: the MP note on Exod 35:7, it indicates 2 cases defective and 1 plene (and not 2 plene and 1 defective!) but the consonantal text shows three defective terms (like Vat14 and B). This could be an example of an Anglo-Norman or northern French feature.

²⁵וְאֶת־בְּדִיוֹ Exodus 35:12

²⁶ÖT i MP

MMfig 6/ ואת בדין דסמ וסימנ²⁷ ודבתרו השלחן (Exod 35:13) ו[?]^{vii} מזבח ה הקטרת
(Exod 35:15)^{viii}

25 וְאֶת־בְּדִיָּו] = O D L M R | ~ V בְּדִיָּו | ~ B וְאֶת־בְּדִיָּו **26** וְאֶת־בְּדִיָּו] ~ D L M V R † | < O B

27 וְאֵת־בְּדִיוֹ] L ^(Weil 620) M V | < O [[D]] R B

²⁸35:14 מִנְרַת

²⁹Ø MP

MMfig 7/ ואת מנרת המאור ואת כליה המאור (Exod 35:14) ד' מל' [חס"א] וס[מ]ניה³⁰ ואת
{וית' כליה (Exod 35:14) תעשה המנרה (Exod 25:31) המאור (Num 4:9) ואת ואת
{(Exod 35:14)

28 [מְנַרְתָּ] = O D L M V R B **29** [מְנַרְתָּ] ∅ O D L M V R B **30** [מְנַרְתָּ] < O D L M V R B (Ginsburg 1883, II, list No. 564, 235)

Other Texts

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לִּזְכָּרֹתָ \ לִּזְכָּרֹתָ \ קָדְשְׁךָ^x

Addendum on [Exod 35:4](#), by [Elijah ha-Nagdan](#):

לְאִמָּר

Addendum on the Targum of Exod 35:4, by Elijah ha-Nagdan:

למימר

Addendum on the Targum (entire verse) of Exod 35:6, by Elijah ha-Nagdan.

vii Probably תא.

viii The list seems incomplete and apparently in contradiction with the MP, unless the $\dot{\imath}$ is supposed to be a $\dot{\tau}$.

ix Elijah ha-Nagdan seems to have written three casus defective instead of four casus plene.

x See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Alphabetical Masorah (Hazaq)



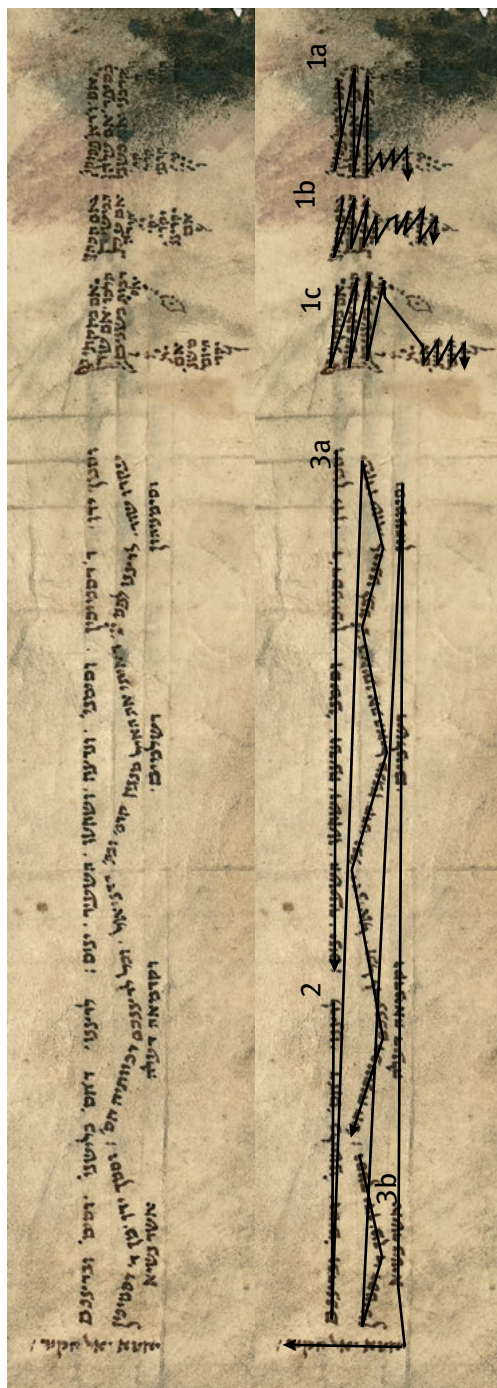


Figure 13: Case 13, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Exod 40:37–Lev 1:10¹עֲנִן¹ Exod 40:38MP דָּ בִק²

MMu עֲנִן דָּ בִקְרִיָּה פִתְחִין וְסִימְנִי³ הַמִּשְׁכָּן (Exod 40:38) הַקֶּטֶרֶת (Lev 16:3) וְשִׁבְעִים
(Ezek 8:11) יִטְרִיחַ (Job 37:11) וְחָד וְעֵנָן יִי (Num 10:34)

1 [עֲנִן] = O D L M V R | ~ B עֲנִן 2 [עֲנִן] ~ O D עֲנִן | ~ L דָּ | ~ R יָ | ~ M דָּ רִפְיִין < V B

3 [עֲנִן] = M R ^(Weil 758) | < O D L ^(but Weil 758) V B

MF סֶךְ פִּסְקֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֵלֶּף וּמֵאֹתִים וְתִשְׁעֵי⁴הָוְסִי אֲרֻכֵּי⁵וְסִדְרֵי כ"ח⁶

{וּפְרָשִׁיּוֹתָיו יִי אֶחָד וְחֲצִי אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִקְלָל⁷}

4 MF = L M V R B | ~ D סֶפֶר אֵלֶּף ר"ט ~ O 5 MF ~ M V R וְסִימָן < O
וְסִדְרֵי כ"ח ~ D 6 MF ~ M V וְסִדְרֵי כ"ח ~ D 7 MF = M V | < O L V R B
O D L V R B

LEVITICUSמִזְעֵד¹ Lev 1:1MP לָ דֵס²MMu מִזְעֵד לָ דֵסִם³ (Lev 1:1)

1 [מִזְעֵד] = O D L M V R B 2 [מִזְעֵד] ~ R D L ^(on מִזְעֵד) | < O M V B 3 [מִזְעֵד] ~ R D L ^(on מִזְעֵד) (=Weil 660) | < O M V B

¹ In O, see ff. 85r–85v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 197–198; in L, ff. 56v–57r; in M, f. 34r, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 174–175 and see Azcárraga Servet 2004, 3–5; in V, ff. 59v–60r; in R, ff. 79v–80r; in B, ff. 61v–62r.

Lev 1:2 קָרְבָּן⁴MP ה' קמצ' כת⁵

MMu קרבן ה' קמצין בקריה וסימנ⁶ אדם כי יקריב מכם קרבן (Lev 1:2) והקריב (Lev 7:14) ואל פתח (Lev 17:4) בהמה (Lev 27:11) ואם בהמה (Lev 27:9) וכל אתנחתא וסוף פסוק דכוותי קמצין

ה' קמצ' וסימ' בר נש מקרב קרבנא V ~ O D L M R | = O D L M R 5 קָרְבָּן = O D L M R B 4 [קָרְבָּן] = V | ~ O D L M R B 6 R M? (Weil 694) | ~ V בעתנא קרבנא בעתנא V ~ O D L M R 6 [קָרְבָּן] < B | קדם תרעא L (but Weil 694) B

Lev 1:3 אִם⁷MP אִם רֹא פס'⁸

MMfig 1a/ אִם רֹא פסוקי בסיפר⁹ אִם עלה קרבנו (Lev 1:3) אִם כשב {ה} {קר} הוקר הוא [מ]קרב (Lev 3:7) 1b/ אִם הכהן המשיח (Lev 4:3) אִם על תודה {י} {יקר} {יקרי} יקרי[ב] נו (Lev 7:12) {אם} 1c/ אִם בחקתי תלכו (Lev 26:3) אִם עוד רבות בשנים (Lev 25:51) אִם {אם} משנת היבל יקד' (Lev 27:17)

7 אִם = O D L M V R B 8 אִם ~ O D L V R בסיפ' MB < | אִם רֹא בסיפ' 9 אִם < O D L M V R B

Lev 1:3 לְרִצְנוֹ¹⁰MP לְרִצְנוֹ¹¹

MMor 2/ לרצנו ד' חס' בלשון וסימ' וברצנם עקרו שור (Gen 49:6) לרצנו לפני יי (Lev 1:3) ראיתי את האיל מנגה קדם וכת דדניאל (Dan 8:4) וכל לרצנכם דכוותיה חס'¹²

10 [לְרִצְנוֹ] = O D L M V R B 11 [לְרִצְנוֹ] Ø V R B | O M בלש' D | ד' חס' חסר' L | ה' חס' L | לרצנו ל' חס' < O D L (but Weil 3874) M V R

Lev 1:4 וְסִמְנֶהּ יְדוֹ¹³MP דס'¹⁴

MMor 3a/ וסמך ידו ד' דסמיכין וסימנ¹⁵ ונרצה (Lev 1:4) ושחטו (Lev 3:2) השעיר (Lev 4:24) ינוס (Amos 5:19) 3b/ {וסמך ידו מן ד' דסמיכין וסימניהון דשלמים (Lev 3:1?) וקדמאה דעלה (Lev 1:4) אשר נשיא יחטא (Lev 4:22?) אל הקיר (Amos 5:19)}

13 [וְסִמְנֶהּ יְדוֹ] = O D L M V R | ~ B ידו וסמך ידו 14 [וְסִמְנֶהּ יְדוֹ] = O D L | ~ R ג' בתו < M V B 15 [וְסִמְנֶהּ יְדוֹ] = O (Weil 3065) | < [[D?]] L M? V R B

Lev 1:8 אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים¹⁶

MP לֹדֶס (Lev 1:8) וְחֵד וְאֵת הַנִּתְחִים וְאֵת הָאֵיל¹⁷(Lev 8:20)

MMu {את הנתחים לֹדֶס (Lev 1:8) וְחֵד וְאֵת הַנִּתְחִים וְאֵת הָאֵיל¹⁸(Lev 8:20)}

16 [אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים] = O D L M R | ~ B אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים | ~ V אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים 17 [אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים] ~ O לֹ | ~ M
 18 < D L V R | סימן קדמא אֶת הַנִּתְחִים וְאֵת הָאֵיל וְאֵת הַנִּתְחִים וְאֵת הָאֵיל וְאֵת הַנִּתְחִים וְאֵת הָאֵיל
 19 < O D L M? V R B אֶת־הַנִּתְחִים

Lev 1:9 נִיחֹה¹⁹

MP i מל²⁰

MM Ø²¹

19 [נִיחֹה] = O D L M V R | ~ B נִיחֹה 20 [נִיחֹה] = O M | ~ D L R i מל בְּתוֹ M i מל | ~ V B
 21 [נִיחֹה] Ø O D L M V R B

Other Texts

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לֹ? \ לֹ?

ⁱ See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Concluding Remarks

This edition tackles the prevailing disregard for the philological features of Ashkenazic biblical manuscripts by examining the material characteristics of some of these codices. It represents the first attempt ever made to trace and evaluate the transmission of Masoretic knowledge in northern France. As described above, this knowledge, can be transmitted through micrographical figurative designs and shows to what extent the Masorah of Ben Asher Codices was followed in Europe.

A comparison between the Masoretic notes on Exodus located within figurative forms in Vat14 and the Masorah on Exodus found in a group of eastern Tiberian manuscripts (O, D, L, M) made it possible to create a critical apparatus, and therefore to evaluate how influential the standard Tiberian sources apparently had been on Elijah ha-Naqdan. Going one step further, the use of V, R and B in the apparatus introduces the possibility of interrogating early medieval Ashkenazic sources that might reflect an expanded Tiberian tradition. The thirteen case studies I examined are not sufficient to draw definitive or general conclusions on the Masoretic tradition transmitted by Vat14. A critical edition of the entire manuscript is needed before this can happen. Nonetheless, this partial edition sheds light on several issues, and suggests further steps for investigation.

I/ There is a close philological link between the Masorah of Vat14 and those of the eastern Tiberian sources

This critical edition demonstrates that, in the majority of cases I examined in Vat14, not only was it possible to identify the Masoretic notes but they were comprehensive and presented strong parallels with those of the oldest eastern Tiberian codices (O, D, L). Furthermore, this led me to discover a list of Masoretic notes compiled in the *Sefer Ochlāh we Ochlāh*.¹ More research is needed in order to ascertain whether or not this list was copied directly from an independent codex. Although this question lies beyond the scope of the present study, the present edition nevertheless strongly suggests that Naqdan had access to manuscripts containing ancient material. In particular, one of the notes that Elijah wrote in the margin of Vat14 (Vat14, f. 256r) provides evidence that, while reviewing a segment of text, he made a comparison with a Masoretic note (or biblical passage?)² in a *yashan noshan mugah*, a very old corrected

¹ See Case 4, on Exod 12:7, lemma *וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁקָנָה*.

² According to G. Khan, whom I thank for this comment, it is not totally clear whether the author is referring to a Masoretic note from an old manuscript or to the biblical text in an old manuscript. Although it would be more usual to understand the term *massoret* to refer to a Masoretic note, further research is needed on the use of the term *massoret* in the context of the 13th century.

Masoretic Bible (or exemplar).³ Is this a reference to an older Ashkenazic manuscript used as an exemplar in the area where Elijah was copying Vat14 or was it his way of referring to a model codex in the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition?⁴ Although it is not possible to answer this question here, it certainly seems probable that Elijah was familiar with Tiberian sources.

Comparing Vat14 to other Ashkenazic manuscripts (V, B and R) has familiarized me with their numerous variants. My edition demonstrates i) that Vat14 has both Ben Asher Tiberian philological features and other features which I will call for now ‘Anglo-Norman’, ii) that V and B also present Ben Asher Tiberian philological features but include more Anglo-Norman features than Vat14, and iii) that R displays only Ben Asher Tiberian philological features and has almost none of the Anglo-Norman features that appear in Vat14, V and B.⁵ There is much that we do not know about the origins of these variants, and this is largely due to the fact that not many of the oldest Hebrew sources produced in Europe have survived. In the frame of reference defined by the two hypotheses of European Masoretic transmission which I proposed in the Prologue,⁶ these elements (i, ii, and iii) could be interpreted both as local developments of the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition in northern France and as surviving traces of a preexisting non-standard Tiberian tradition, or indeed as exhibiting the hypothetical influence of non-Tiberian traditions. I am inclined to agree with the first interpretation, mostly in light of the fact that the variants of Vat14, V and B seem to be different from those found in Codex Reuchlinianus, which scholars consider to be representative of the non-standard (expanded) Tiberian tradition produced in Europe.⁷ Nevertheless, the variants found in Vat14, V and B call for further research in

³ In general, the term *mugah* (מִגָּה) was used to describe an attribute of Masoretic Bibles in general but it could also refer to a ‘model’ codex. See Appendix 2, Annotations.

⁴ The sole purpose of exemplar manuscripts or model codices was to preserve the entire biblical tradition, i.e., both the written and the reading traditions. They were used as models for the copy of other manuscripts (or Torah Scrolls) and each region had books which were considered authoritative and copies were made of them. Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 23; Khan 2012, 7–8.

⁵ R, which is related to Vat. Ebr 468 and dated 1215, is written in an Ashkenazic palaeographical script. Its Masorah is closer to the Masorah of O, D, and L than to the Masorah of Vat14, V and B. In this case too, these differences may be explained by the manuscript’s material and cultural context: La Rochelle was a famous Atlantic harbor, and this maritime activity may have meant that a number of manuscripts were in circulation, along with other goods. Although he wrote in an Ashkenazic script, the scribe may have had more contact with non-Ashkenazic manuscripts (and therefore been more familiar with the Tiberian tradition).

⁶ See end of the Prologue.

⁷ A direct comparison with Codex Reuchlinianus (i.e. with the expanded Tiberian tradition) was not possible because the Book of Exodus is missing from Codex Reuchlinianus. However, Vat14 contains parts of the Book of Prophets (Haftarot), and a short comparison of Isa 42:5 in both manuscripts (f. 257r in Vat14 and 217r in a facsimile reproduction of Codex Reuchlinianus) shows that Vat14 does not follow the same rules of vocalization as Codex Reuchlinianus.

the fields of grammar, linguistics, vocalization,⁸ Masoretic notes (specific Masoretic annotations from England or northern France) and Hebrew paleography.⁹

In the perspective of textual anthropology, the variants that exist between the four Ashkenazic (Vat14, V, B and R) and the eastern manuscripts that I have examined could also be explained by the original purpose of these manuscripts and the kinds of sources they were copied from. Of course, the fact that the scribes themselves did not leave us any direct information on these questions means that any interpretation is necessarily speculative. It is known in the particular case of Vat14, that R. Asher, the manuscript's patron, wanted Elijah to make a copy of a Pentateuch with Five Scrolls and Haftarot (as opposed to a complete Bible), whether because this kind of Bible had become traditional in Ashkenazic communities¹⁰ or because they had a specific purpose (for the liturgy, to study, or for teaching children or women?).¹¹ Elijah mentions that he had a look into a *mugah* (exemplar) in one specific case (f. 256r, see above). This small annotation might be an indication that he was not copying Vat14 from a complete Masoretic Bible but directly from another 'Pentateuch-Five Scrolls-Haftarot' exemplar.

II/ The presence of figurative elements in the Masorah represents neither a loss nor a distortion of Masoretic knowledge, but instead illustrates a development in the transmission of the Masorah

As this critical edition demonstrates, the use of figurative Masorah in Vat14 does not imply a loss of Masoretic knowledge or a semantic distortion of the Masorah. Only

⁸ Cf. S. Blapp's lecture, "The Diversity of the so-called Non-standard Tiberian Vocalization Tradition of Biblical Hebrew", Xth EAJIS Congress, Paris, 22d July 2014.

⁹ A type of script (i.e. one of the material features of an artefact) does not always systematically attest to the influence of an original, local, cultural milieu. Likewise, the absence of a Sephardic feature in an Ashkenazic manuscript does not prove that there was no contact between these communities: on the contrary, travel and cultural (mystical) exchanges between Provence, Spain and Ashkenazic communities were common at that time. That is why researches focused on both the codicological and the palaeographical features of manuscripts, as well as their philological elements and the interpretations they induced, will help to determine the geographical origin and date of many currently undated biblical manuscripts. We still lack a reconstruction of the biblical textual culture of every Ashkenazic sub-geo-cultural area, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 118.

¹⁰ Ashkenazic Bibles often include the Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, the Haftarot, and a verse-by-verse arrangement of the Targum, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 34.

¹¹ A typology of late medieval biblical manuscripts has yet to be created. See Goshen-Gottstein 1963; Stern 2012; Khan 2012, 8; Kogel 2014. According to G. Khan, there are only three kinds of biblical manuscripts: liturgical scrolls, model codices (exemplars to be copied), and popular Bibles (which include translations, commentaries, etc. in addition to the biblical text). Any further research on this question should take into account the oldest European manuscripts, the biblical fragments of the Cairo Genizah (see Davis Outhwaite 1978–2003), and those discovered in the European Genizah (Books within Books Data Base project).

two of the 160 biblical lemmas which I edited in this book and which were the subject of a MP or/and MM note, were illegible figurative Masoretic notes (Case 1: marks I and II; Case 11: marks II).¹² All the other textual uncertainties highlighted by the present edition (e.g. illegible passages, unidentified text or unclear graphic signs) are independent from the use of figurative or ornamental micrographic forms.¹³ In other words, Vat14 is a northern French manuscript dated 1239, where the use of figurative forms is not at odds with the transmission of the Masorah in the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition: instead, its Masoretic notes are comprehensive and do not really depart much from the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition.

However, I have to add two additional points: first, my preliminary work may create the impression that there are fewer MP and MM notes in manuscripts Vat14, B, and V than in the Ben Asher Tiberian manuscripts I examined (O, D, L, M, or indeed R, as the apparatus shows). In other words, it may seem that annotations are relatively scarce in the Ashkenazic Anglo-Norman manuscripts I examined (Vat14, B, V).¹⁴ However, it should be noted that we still do not know what constituted the model codex of the Anglo-Norman Jewish community¹⁵ between the 11th and the 12th centuries.¹⁶ It would be an overinterpretation to assume that this lack of sources necessarily points to the Anglo-Norman Ashkenazic community's lack of biblical, grammatical or Masoretic knowledge. During Elijah ben Berechiah ha-Naqdan's lifetime, the activities of Moshe Yom Tov of London¹⁷ (author of the Masoretic treatise *Sefer Derakhey ha-Niqud we ha-Neginnah*) and his disciple Moshe ben Isaac ha-Nessiya (author of the biblical dictionary *Sefer ha-Shoham*) had fostered the creation of a thriving grammatical and Masoretic school.¹⁸

Second, as Levita pointed out,¹⁹ the *masran* (i.e., the scribe who specialized in the addition of Masoretic notes) also produced figurative forms involving both drawing and writing, which sometimes required the repetition of some occurrences inside a Masoretic list²⁰ or the inclusion of related biblical verses.²¹ We found very few instances of truncated or unidentified Masoretic notes.²² The Masoretic notes

¹² See Figures 1 and 11.

¹³ See Appendix 4, Illegible section.

¹⁴ See above n. 7.

¹⁵ See above n. 5.

¹⁶ On the scarcity of sources, see Introduction n. 35; on the fact there is no typology of the Hebrew Bible in the Middle Ages, see Introduction n. 54. See also above n. 11.

¹⁷ Died in 1268; Löwinger 1929; Roth 1949, 36, 44.

¹⁸ Klar 1947; Roth 1949, 44–46, 49–50; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 7; Olszowy-Schlanger 2012a. Elijah's father, Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan, seems to have been an important punctuator and Masorete: ha-Nessiya, alive in 1260, mentions his name.

¹⁹ See Introduction, n. 1.

²⁰ See the additional material marked by a {} in the edition.

²¹ See Case 4, Other text.

²² For instance, the unidentified lists in Case 2 (inside the MMor, see fig. 6), Case 4, Case 10 and in

included in the figurative forms of Exodus in Vat14 are almost invariably related to lemmas located inside the same folios where they appear. If a lemma does appear on a previous or following folio of its associated figurative form, this does not disrupt the text's philological discourse. Instead, such discrepancies are considered to constitute isolated occurrences, just as in manuscripts without figurative Masorah, where they can also be found. In one specific case (see Case 8), Elijah ha-Naqdan seems to have elaborated a special figurative form, by using a collection of Masoretic notes related to the word *'amudim* (pillars) in order to draw an architectural structure (i.e., the gates and pillars of the court of the Tabernacle). This creates a relationship between the figurative form he drew and the Masoretic list he chose.

In conclusion, this critical edition demonstrates that in the 13th century, the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition was comprehensively transmitted to the Ashkenazic community through figurative and ornamental forms. The ornamental or figurative textualization of the Masorah, which is a specific characteristic of Ashkenazic artefacts from the 13th century onwards, probably did not originally impede the transmission of Masoretic knowledge, so much as represent a singular development in the transmission of the Ben Asher tradition. I show in another publication that the function of these figurative forms was not simply decorative. Instead, they had a range of uses, including illustrating the main text, helping with memorization, alluding to Rabbinic Medieval biblical literature, and challenging Masorah learners and experts.²³ The departures from the Ben Asher Masoretic tradition which my critical apparatus highlights probably reveal how difficult it was to homogenize and standardize the Masorah during the Middle Ages. Local scribal subtraditions probably go some length toward explaining this fact. Nevertheless, the dearth of studies on Ashkenazic Bibles and the late medieval Masoretic tradition in Europe suggests that it may be worth considering the possibility that some of these variants may be evidence of a specific northern French tradition. If so, this may have implications for our understanding of the exegesis and the rabbinical commentaries of the period, particularly on those of Rashi and his school.²⁴

Case 12.

²³ For further details on the relationships between text and image and the functions of the micro-graphical elements in Vat14, see Attia 2015.

²⁴ See for instance Himmelfarb 2011.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Categories of Masoretic Notes According to Shape

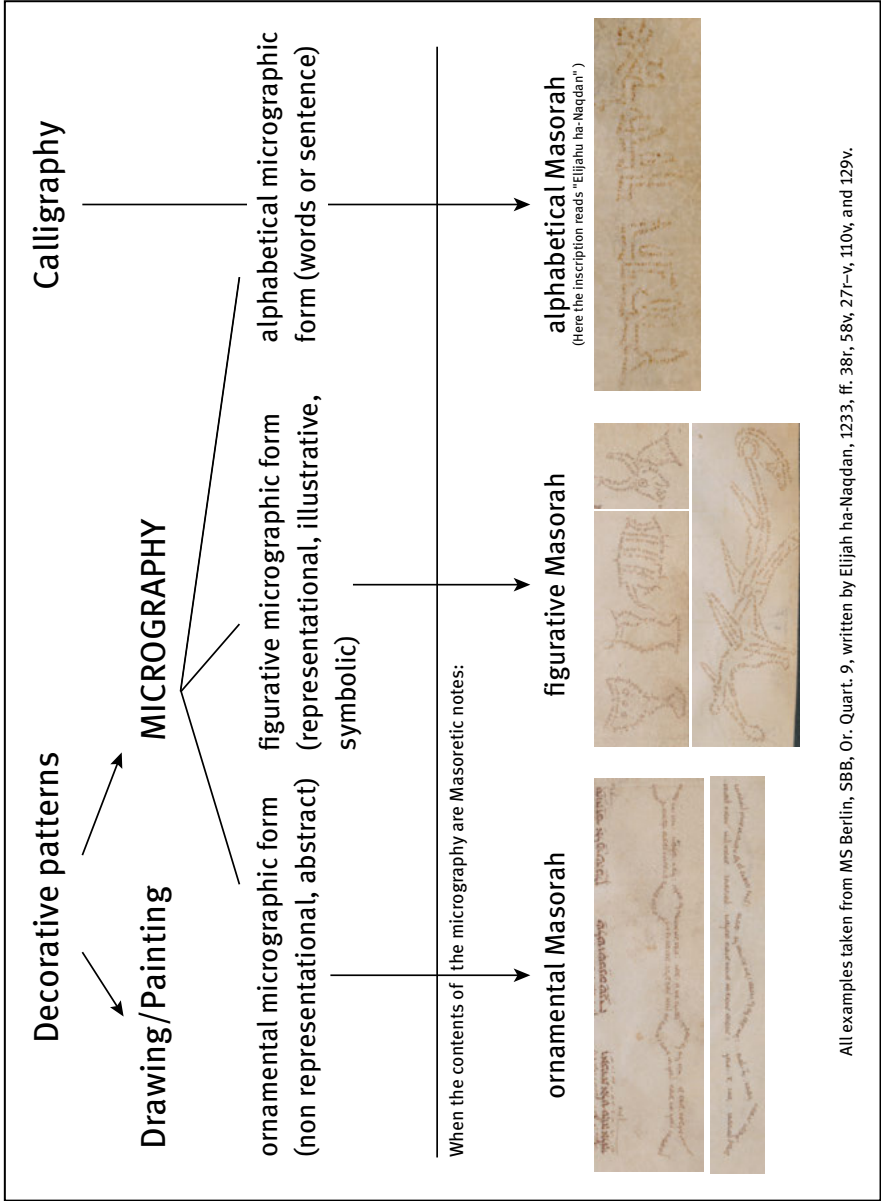


Figure 14: Categories of Masoretic notes according to shape

Appendix 2: MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ebr. 14

Codicological and Paleographical Description

Pentateuch (with Targum), Five Scrolls (with Targum) and Haftarat copied, corrected, vocalized and completed with Masorah by Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan for R. Asher, a patron, [310 ff], parchment, 289 × 228 mm, place of copy not mentioned but dated from Tuesday 21st Av 99 [24th July 1239] according to colophon, f. 292r.¹

The manuscript is a complete and homogenous volume except that the folios 1r–3v have been lost and replaced by an Italo-Ashkenazic hand in the 15th century. The codex contains the Pentateuch (ff. 1–242r),² the Five Scrolls (ff. 242v–257r)³ and the Haftarat⁴ according to the Ashkenazic rite (ff. 257r–292r).⁵ The vowels and the accents are written according to the Tiberian system. The Targum is provided for the Pentateuch only, and the Masoretic notes (*Masora Parva* and *Magna*) on the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls (until f. 257v), with regular, ornamental and figurative Masorah. The foliotation is very irregular as stated in the new catalogue.⁶

Format, size

Vat14 is a medium-sized codex of 310 folios measuring approximately 300 × 240 mm. The written space measures approximately 185 × 165 mm.

¹ I have examined the manuscript at the Vatican Library, Rome, in November 2011. See also the description in Richler 2008, 9–11; Golb 1976, 121–123, 142–144; Golb 1985, 240–244, 340–343; Golb 1998, 328–333, 434–439. Cassuto 1956, 17–19; Assemani 1756, 14–15.

² Pentateuch (ff. 1v–242r) with Genesis (ff. 1v–63v), Exodus (ff. 63v–113r), Leviticus (ff. 113r–143v), Numbers (ff. 143v–200r), Deuteronomy (ff. 200v–242r).

³ Five Scrolls (ff. 242v–257r) with Canticles (ff. 242v–244r), Ruth (ff. 244r–246r), Lamentations (ff. 246r–248r), Ecclesiastes (ff. 248v–252v), Esther (ff. 252v–257r). The order of the Five Scrolls in Vat 14 corresponds to the same order of the Five Scrolls in the MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1, see MPMA IV, MS No. 85, 82–87. The order given in the Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra*, 14a.

⁴ Extracts of Prophets are read during synagogal service after the reading of the *Parasha* on Shabbat. The Haftarat on Genesis (traditionally Isa 42:4–43:10) appear to stop here at 43:1, see f. 251v.

⁵ The list of Haftarat according to the French rite is found on f. 263r, 265r, 281r–v and probably written by Elijah ha-Naqdan, the main scribe of the manuscript.

⁶ The foliotation is chaotic, see Richler 2008, 9. No corrections have been made since and the following folio numbers were omitted: 43, 44, 53, 54, 58, 73, 91, 103, 154, 163, 184–191 and 232. The following numbers were assigned to two consecutive folios: 49, 52, 67, 123, 124, 127, 200 and 216. Following f. 257, there are two other folios numbered 250 and 253 (in addition to ff. 250 and 253 in their correct place).

The dimensions in f. 27r are: $([18] + 3 + [20] + 185 + [20] + 8 + [34]) \times ([40] + 45 + [6+6] + 45 + [6+6] + 45 + [6] + [35])$.⁷

Parchment

The parchment used is medium thick. Despite the shaving traces visible on both sides, it is possible, as it is common in Ashkenaz, to distinguish between the flesh side (white and smooth) and the hair side (grey and lint).⁸ Sometimes, the grain is equally visible. Some 42 holes are visible, some of which being stitched.⁹ Another portion of parchment was used to complete the beginning (ff. 1–3). The last folio (f. 292v) is strongly damaged.

Ink

Elijah, the principal scribe, used a brown ink for text and Masorah (even figurative), and for some marginal annotations as well as for some embellishments. Other hands, two of which, wrote in the margins with several types of brown and dark brown ink. One later hand (Italian, 16th century) used a grey ink (f. 45r–v, 56v, 57r, 59v, 226r). Some initials¹⁰ were probably originally decorated by Elijah himself in a brighter ink (for instance f. 199v). Colored pigments (red, blue, and gold) were superposed afterwards.¹¹ These colors were used to differentiate and embellish the internal section of each book.

Quires

All quires are quaternions,¹² except quire No. 19, which is a ternion. They are complete except quire No. 1, which lost four folios at the beginning (replaced by a later hand), and the last quire, which lost three folios at its end. Folio 292r lost its left part, leaving the colophon partly incomplete. Catchwords are inserted at the end of each quire and there is no systematic method of decoration of it.¹³ According to these, the text is complete. As usual, these catchwords are sometimes decorated.¹⁴ In the organization of the quires, the ‘rule of Gregory’ is respected.

⁷ Italics indicate the written text.

⁸ Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 22–23.

⁹ Holes: ff. 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 42, 60, 61, 63, 65, 68, 72, 79, 80, 92, 110, 115, 117, 121, 123, 129, 133, 139, 144, 150, 195, 207, 218, 223, 228, 234, 244, 250, 265, 266, 267, 269, 273, 288, 289. Stitched wholes: 9, 31, 32, 52, 65, 66, 67, 69, 82, 85, 86, 104, 107, 111, 113, 114, 134, 135, 136, 151, 291.

¹⁰ Decorated word at the beginning of book, a *Parasha*, a section.

¹¹ Colored pigments on headings: ff. 7r, 12r, 17r, 23r, 27r, 31r, 44v, 49r, 55r, 60r, 63v, 72v, 77v, 85v, 94r, 98r, 104r, 109v, 113r, 117v, 121r, 122v, 125v, 127v, 131r, 138r, 140r, 143v, 149r, 155r, 161r, 166r, 170r, 173v, 178r, 191v, 196r, 199v, 204r, 209v, 214v, 219v, 223v, 228v, 234v, 238r, 240v, 242v, 244r, 246r, 248v, 252.

¹² A common feature in Ashkenaz, Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 43.

¹³ Halperin 2014, 327 and 344.

¹⁴ Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 54.

Pricking, Ruling

There are only partial pricking traces on the outer margins, since the manuscript was trimmed.¹⁵ Ruling is made with a hard point on the hair side of each folio.¹⁶ The structure of the ruling is complex entailing a grid with additional lines. In general, there are 31 ruled lines for 30 written lines, the last ruled line remains usually unwritten.¹⁷

Mise en page, mise en texte

The written text as well as the Masorah follows the ruling. Generally, the main text is laid out in three columns (185 × 45 mm each, with interspaces of 12 mm), but not in all cases. For instance, there is one column in a ‘chessboard’ layout on f. 79v (*Shirat ha-Yam*, Exod 15:1–18) and as well as between Deut 31:27 and Deut 31:30 (Song of Deborah); two columns in ‘chessboard’ layout at the beginning of the parasha *Ha’azinu* (Deut 32:1–32:43). The Aramaic verses alternate verse-by-verse with Hebrew ones, but several irregularities have been observed.¹⁸

The *Masora Magna* in the upper margins is always written following the ruled line, whereas in the lower margins, it does not follow the ruling and displays an array of waves, geometric elements and sixty-four figurative elements, replacing the regular layout. The *Masora Parva* is always located at the right of the column in each verso side and at the left of each column in each recto side.¹⁹ Justification of the left and right margins is always respected because of the presence of the *Masora Parva*, whereas at the end of the book, this justification becomes centralized on the page and takes the shape of an upside down triangle or ‘cul-de-lampe’. There are very few protruding lines (half a letter). Generally, letters are elongated at the end of the lines (like the ‘*ayin*, ‘*alef*, *he*, *het*, *taw*, *lamed*, *mem sofit*), anticipating the next line. A specific graphic sign can be used to fill the empty space. This *mise en texte* is present to direct the eyes and guide the reading.²⁰ The first word at the beginning of the *Parasha*, of each of the Scrolls and of the first Haftarah, are four times larger than the average letter.²¹ The size of the script is similar for Hebrew or Aramaic text. Blank spaces also

¹⁵ Even if Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 70 and Sirat 1973–1974, 446 have argued that this is the case, a discovery was made recently by Justine Isserles concerning the presence of not only outer but inner prickings in a *Mahzor Vitry* (MS New York, JTS, 8092) dated 1204 in a margin on f. 37r in the same handwriting as that of the main scribe. See Isserles 2012, Chapter 3, 47–48. I thank Justine Isserles for having shared this information with me prior to the publication of her thesis which is in preparation.

¹⁶ Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 70–71.

¹⁷ Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 85.

¹⁸ Attia 2014.

¹⁹ Eastern and Sefaradic manuscripts show a different layout, see Prologue, n. 15.

²⁰ Laufer 1983.

²¹ Corresponding to the halakhic prescription (for the copy of Torah Scrolls) of space of four blank lines separating consecutive books of the Pentateuch. The interaction between the rules of copying

reproduce the ancient division into paragraphs, similar to that of the Torah Scrolls (open and closed sections). The punctuation used is the classical two dots (:) after each verse, Hebrew or Aramaic. Corrections are rare but have been made by the scribe, in square script, when biblical or targumic words have been forgotten and introduced by a specific graphic sign (e.g. f. 35r).

Graphic designs

A lot of graphic elements from this manuscript have been mentioned by N. Golb. Nevertheless, the list of figurative elements is incomplete and there are more of them which are either of micrographic nature or simply drawn.²² There are 64 figurative micrographic elements (detailed in the table hereunder). In Genesis, there are 21 micrographic elements; in Exodus, 12 elements; in Leviticus, 4 elements; in Numbers, 8 elements; in Deuteronomy, 19 elements. Simple drawings (see SD in the table below) are also present instead of a micrographic figurative element, as well as ornamental Masorah (waves, geometric patterns),²³ and additional drawings inspired perhaps from Latin manuscripts from Rouen.²⁴

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
1	7r	Ark of Noah	Gen 6:6–6:17
SD	8v	Birds (sent by Noah)	Gen 7:21–8:9
2	9r	Noah performing a sacrifice	Gen 8:10–8:21
3	12r	Abram leaves / Horseman	Gen 11:23–12:4
4	16v	Gateway / hands	Gen 17:10–17:23
5	17r	Calf, Table, Tree	Gen 17:23–18:8
6	23r	Cave of Machpela	Gen 22:21–23:10
7	24v	Eliezer, the servant, on a horse ²⁵	Gen 24:16–24:30
8	25r	Rivka	Gen 24:31–24:43
9	27r	Esau hunts a deer	Gen 25:18–25:30
10	31r	Jacob's scale	Gen 28:9–28:20

codices and scrolls are clear, even if the biblical codex is, in itself, a departure from the strict rules of liturgical scrolls (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 28).

²² See Golb 1976, 144, n. 411. Golb's list is partial as he has mentioned some non-micrographic drawings but forgot others. See Attia (forthcoming) for the analysis of some figurative forms in Genesis.

²³ The main ornamental pattern is made up of slight waves in the lower margins, every two to four folios, instead of regular horizontal lines. Some geometrical (round or triangular forms) occur as well but a lesser extent.

²⁴ Golb 1976, 144, n. 413; Golb 1998, 435.

²⁵ Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
11	33r	Reuven and the mandrakes ²⁶	Gen 30:7–30:20
12	36v	Ox and Donkey of Jacob	Gen 31:52–32:9
13	39 ^{bis} v	Graves	Gen 35:13–35:28
14	41r	Esau's cattle ²⁷	Gen 35:29–36:14
15	42v	Sun, moon (Jacob's dream)	Gen 37:1–37:11
16	48v	Chief baker hanged	Gen 40:12–40:23
17	49v	Josef Chief of Egypt	Gen 41:38–41:50
18	50 r	Josef's brothers prostrating	Gen 41:51–42:6
19	52 ^{bis} v	Josef's goblet in the bag	Gen 44:5–44:17
20	59v	Ploughman ²⁸	Gen 47:15–47:23
21	60r	Bird, two stars	Gen 47:24–48:3
22	63v	Alphabetical Masorah (חזק)	Gen. 50:21 to Exod 1:10
SD	67v	Bird with two heads (Moshe/Aharon)	Exod 4:22–5:4
23	67r bis	Two stars (Moshe/Aharon), Key of David's House	Exod 5:4 – 5:15
24	72v	Locusts (Eight plague)	Exod 9:34–10:8
25	75v	Unleavened Bread, Lintel, Burnt Offering	Exod 12:7–12:17
26	77v	Donkey (redeem of firstlings)	Exod 13:7–13:19
27	85v	Altar of stone with stairs	Exod 20:25–21:11
28	89v	Scale (contributions for the sanctuary)	Exod 24:9–25:3
29	93r	Pillars from the court of the tabernacle	Exod 27:10–27:19 & 38:10–38:19
30	98r	Key (census tax?)	Exod 30:1–30:14
31	100v	Broken tables beneath the Mount Horeb	Exod 32:13–32:25
32	101r	Humans and swords	Exod 32:26–33:1
33	104r	Menorah (lampstand /lamps)	Exod 35:1–35:15
34	113r	Alphabetical Masorah (חזק)	Exod 40:37–Lev 1:10
SD	109v	Bezalel	Exod 38:10–38:24
35	124v ²⁹	Fish (clean and unclean animals)	Lev 11:43–12:7

²⁶ Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

²⁷ Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

²⁸ Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21; Metzger/Metzger 1982, 156, fig. 205.

²⁹ Before f. 123bis and f. 124bis.

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
SD	124v ³⁰	Bird (laws for cleansing lepers)	Lev 14:1–14:12
36	139r	Key (redemption of property)	Lev 25:18–25:31
37	140r	David's star (Lev 5:55)	Lev 25:46–26:2
38	143v	Alph. Masorah (חזק), Griffon ³¹	Lev 27:32–Num 1:16
39	149r	Altar (Gershonites' services)	Num 4:20–4:32
SD	155r	Bulls / Male goats (Lev 7:88)	Num 7:78–8:1
40	155v	The Seven Lamps (Menorah) ³²	Num 8:1–8:15
SD	166r	Korach	Num 15:33–16:3
41	170r	Red heifer ³³	Num 18:24–19:3
42	173v	Key (King Og defeated) ³⁴	Num 21:26–22:3
43	178r	Pinhas with spear piercing the man of Israel and a Midianite	Num 25:7–26:2
44	191v	Male goat (for the sin offerings) ³⁵	Num 29:28–30:3
45	196r	Tower (camps of Israel)	Num 32:41–33:14
46	199v	Alph. Masorah (משנה תורה)	Deut 1:1–1:10
47	209v	Young of your oxes (Deut 7:13)	Deut 7:7–7:15
48	216 ^{bisv}	Camel (unclean food) ³⁶	Deut 13:16–14:7
SD	217r	Pig, Fish with fins and scales, eagle (clean and unclean food) ³⁷	14:8–14:24
SD	223v	Heifer (Deut 21:3) ³⁸	20:20–21:11
49	224v	New house, parapet for the roof (Deut 22:8) ³⁹	Deut 21:23–22:9
50	234r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 28:64–29:3
51	234v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:4–29:15
52	235r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:16–29:23

30 Before f. 125r (third folio 124).

31 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

32 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

33 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

34 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

35 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

36 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

37 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

38 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

39 Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
53	235v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:24–30:8
54	236r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 30:9–30:19
55	236v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 30:20–31:9
56	237r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 31:10–31:17
57	237v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 31:18–31:27
58	238r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:1–32:11
59	238v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:12–32:31
60	239r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:32–32:43
SD	239v	Colophon	
SD	240r	Colophon	
61	240v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:40–33:6
62	241r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 33:7–33:17
63	241v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 33:18–33:29
64	242r	Alph. Masorah (קריק)	Deut 34:1–34:12

A last phenomenon in Vat14, found also in B, is a frequent use of the letters ב' and ק' in the external margins of the folios.⁴⁰ Our critical edition did not succeed in interpreting these marks according to their classical meaning, i.e., *casus lêt* (*hapax*) for the first and the mark of a *qere* for the last. The meaning of these two written signs remains unclear. As an hypothesis, this two marks may be some witnesses of an oral teaching.

Annotations, corrections

Different hands added notes, corrections, and explanations. These marginal notes were identified by Golb,⁴¹ and were erroneously all attributed to Elijah ha-Naqdan. There are, at least, two or three different annotators. The annotations that are clearly made by Elijah are on ff. 75v (edited in the edition), 124r, 173v, 177r, 180v, 241v, f. 256r, whereas those which may be by the hand of Elijah, in his cursive script, on ff. 13r, 17r, 27r, 179v, 240v, 254r or 256r, 259v, 275r and 292r. One of them, on f. 256r, is clearly written in the semi-cursive script similar to the script used in the colophon on f. 292r. This note (f. 256r) is of a great interest because Elijah refers to the *massoret* (the Masoretic note or the biblical text)⁴² of an old Masoretic Bible (*yashan noshan mugah*), i.e.,

⁴⁰ For examples, see the folios edited in our edition in cases 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, 'Other texts'.

⁴¹ Mostly in Golb 1976, 142–144.

⁴² See Concluding remarks, n. 3.

an exemplar.⁴³ The scribe wrote first a ‘large’ waw (ו) in the word וִיזַתָּא (Esth 9:9),⁴⁴ but then he explained in the outer margin that he looked in an exemplar where he did not find this feature:

ראיתי במסרת ישן נושן מוגה כי הווי' מן וִיזַתָּא אינה גדולה כי אם היתה גדולה נמצא שיהיו שני ווי' גדולות במסרת וי' של הולך על גחון ודין [וזה] ואי אפשר שיהיו שני ווי' באלפא ביתא גדולות. “[On a large waw erased in Esth 9:9 וִיזַתָּא]: I saw in the *massoret* of an old biblical exemplar that the waw in וִיזַתָּא (Esth 9:9) is not large. If it were large, there would be two large waw (ו) in the *massoret*, one with the waw in גחון על גחון (Lev 11:42) and here. And it is not possible to have twice a large waw.”

In the Haftarat parts, Elijah wrote in semi-cursive script on the folios 265r, 281r and 281v, the indication כאן מתחילין בצרפת meaning “Here in France begins (the reading of the Haftarat)”.⁴⁵ The indication לא מצאתי כאן יותר meaning “Here, I did not find anymore notes”, written in the lower margin on ff. 206v and 225v, witness the work of Elijah who was searching for Masoretic notes. Another hand (Scribe 2) made annotations (sometimes quoting Ibn Ezra) in a very light grey ink, in a cursive Ashkenazic script, on ff. 45r, 45v,⁴⁶ 56v,⁴⁷ 57r. Another hand (Scribe 3) added notes in old French written in Hebrew letters (f. 171r, 233v, 241v).⁴⁸ Another hand added a drawing (pot?) on f. 275v.

Identification of the scribe, punctuator and *masran*

From the f. 4r till f. 292r, the only one scribe, corrector, punctuator and masorete is Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan. His name, Elijah אליה or Elijahu אליהו, is pointed out many times in the manuscript: ff. 159v, 209v, f. 234r–241v (colophon written in alphabetical Masorah),⁴⁹ 239r (inside a letter of the colophon written in alphabetical Masorah), 242r, 264v, and 292r. According to the main colophon on f. 292r, the codex Vat14 was copied for R. Asher, a patron.

On f. 159v: inside the *Masora Magna*, Elijah signalized his name with dots, using one of the biblical verses from the Masoretic list.

On f. 209v: the letters of his name are marked with dots and floral patterns.

On ff. 234r–241v: the scribe wrote a colophon formed by letters made in micro-graphic script (alphabetical Masorah, see Plate 14 and fig. 15):

⁴³ A model codex, see Prologue, n. 23.

⁴⁴ On ‘large letter’, see Dotan 2007, § 1.2.2.4. Like Vat14, V (f. 236r) and B (f. 145r) displays a large waw in Esther 9:9. On the contrary, there is no such modification in L and M (O and D are not transmitting the book of Esther).

⁴⁵ The same note at f. 263r may be from another hand. Not recorded in by Golb 1976, 143–144, n. 410.

⁴⁶ Quoting Ibn Ezra.

⁴⁷ Quoting Ibn Ezra.

⁴⁸ Not recorded in Golb 1976, 143.

⁴⁹ For ‘alphabetical Masorah’ expression, see Introduction, n. 20.

אני [234r] אליה [234v] איש [235r] רב [235v] פעלים [236r] בן הקרא הרב רבי ברכיה והיה מנוחתו כב' [236v] התנא והנקדן [237r] והדייקן אשר [237v] און וחקר תקן [238r] משלים הרבה [238v] וברוך מבנים ר' אשר [239r] אשר נדב לבו [239v] לעשות ספר [240r] יפה כזה אמן [240v] ויזכרו השם [241r] להגות בו [241v]⁵⁰

On f. 239r: inside the word מבנים of the colophon (f. 234r–241v), he replaced Masoretic notes by another colophon that has never been identified:

[first letter] לא | מצאתי כאן מסורת לפי | כך. אני כותב | א | נ | י | הסופר | והנקדן והמסרן | בן איש רב פעלים | הרב ברכיה הנקדן [?] | אני אליהו | הסופר [second letter] והקרא והתנא | והחדרן | והפשטן ו | ו [?] | והחכם | והיפה אשר דבר | על האבנים ועל [third letter] העצים | ויחכם לרוב | כי מיימיו שלם [ות?] | לא | קם | כמוהו | הוא און וחקרן | תקן משלים הרבה | ופירוש מה' | [fourth letter] [מ] הקריה | והיא נודע | בשערים | העלופים [fifth letter] מרומי קדת | ומעשיו קיימים | למאה דורות | ואני בן בזקונים | לון קמתי תחתיו | למלאת כסא ייי.⁵¹

On f. 242r: he added a scribal formula (from 2Sam 10:12):

חזק ונתחזק | הסופר והנקדן לא | יזק יזכרו השם | לעשות ולהצליח | אמן ואמן אמן ואמן ואמן
אמן ואמ'.⁵²

On f. 264v: his name pointed out, on the top of the left column, twice inside the left column.

On f. 292r: on the last folio of the manuscript, strongly damaged on the left hand side, the scribe supplied another colophon in semi-cursive script, with details and the date of its completion, only of which some parts remain.⁵³ In the colophon, the scribe listed the works composed by his father, Berakhiah ha-Naqdan

Dating

According to the colophon f. 292r, lines 34–37,⁵⁴ Elijah provides a date on which several interpretations were delivered.⁵⁵ The sentence

⁵⁰ “I, Elijah, man of lot of works, son of the *Qara*’ Rabi Berakhiah, he had his rest, and was a *Tana*’ and a punctuator and an expert grammarian who *gave heed, sought out, set in order many proverbs* (Eccl 12:9). And be blessed R. Asher who dedicated his heart to make this beautiful book, Amen. That God allows him to meditate on it.”

⁵¹ “I did not find any corresponding masoretic notes here. I am writing, I, the scribe, the Naqdan and the masran, son of the man of lots of works, the Rav Berakhiah ha-Naqdan, [I am Elijah the scribe] the *Qara*’, the *Tana*’, the Chadran, and the Pashtan, [?] the wise, the Magnificent that *spoke of the stones and trees* (1Kgs 5:12), brings wisdom to all because from his days, completeness did not rose like him. *He gave heed, sought out, set in order many proverbs* (Eccl. 12:9) and a commentary on all the Bible. He is recognized among the best scholars with high salutations. His works are arisen for hundred generations. I am the son of his old days. I came after him to reach YHWH’s Throne.”

⁵² “Be strong and stronger the scribe and punctuator, he will not weak. God helped him to accomplish and succeed [in his work]. Amen.”

⁵³ see Richler 2008, 10; some variants in Golb 1976, 122; Golb 1998, 329–331; Cassuto 1956, 18–19.

⁵⁴ See Golb 1976, Plate 18.

⁵⁵ Jacobs 1890a, 1890b, 1890c; Neubauer 1890a, 1890b; Golb 1998, 332; Richler 2008, 9–11.

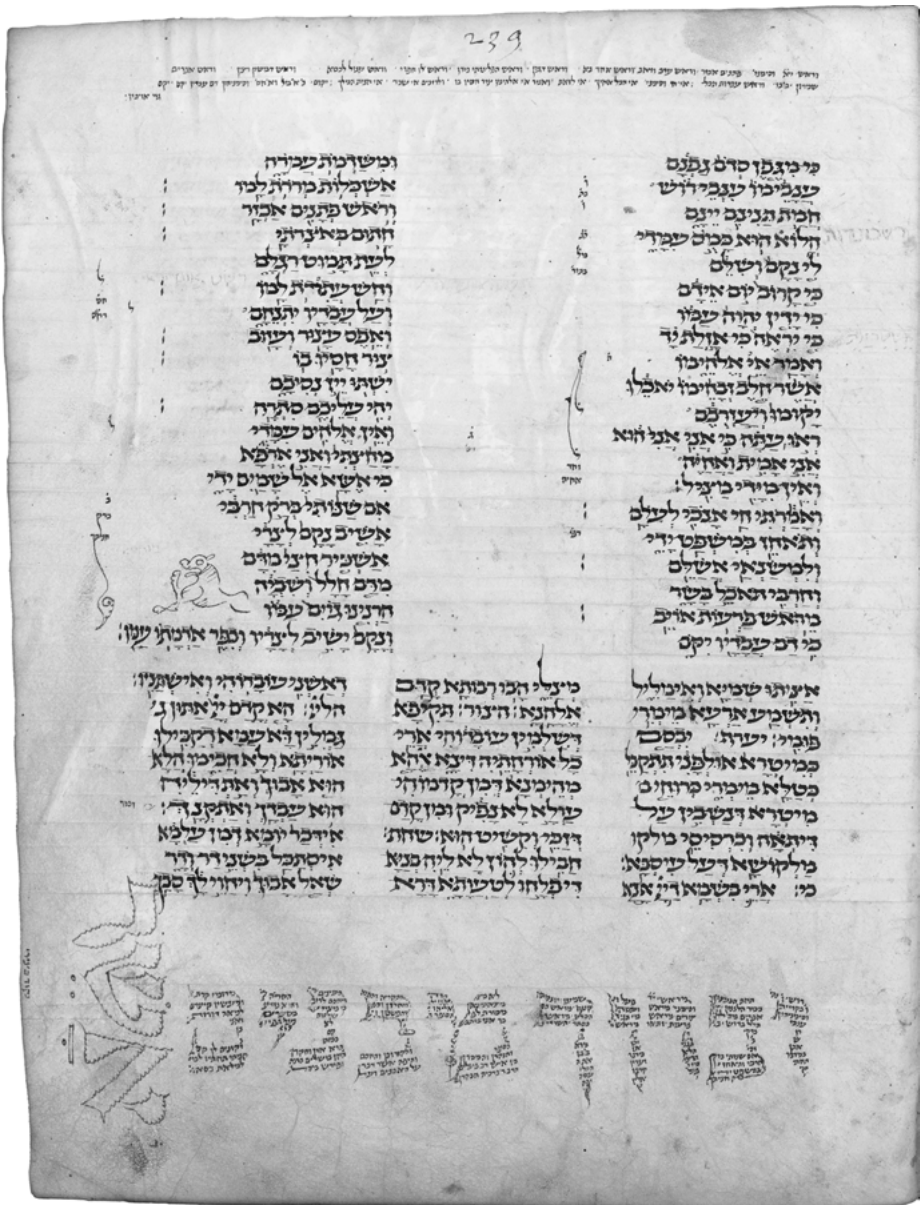


Plate 14: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 239r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

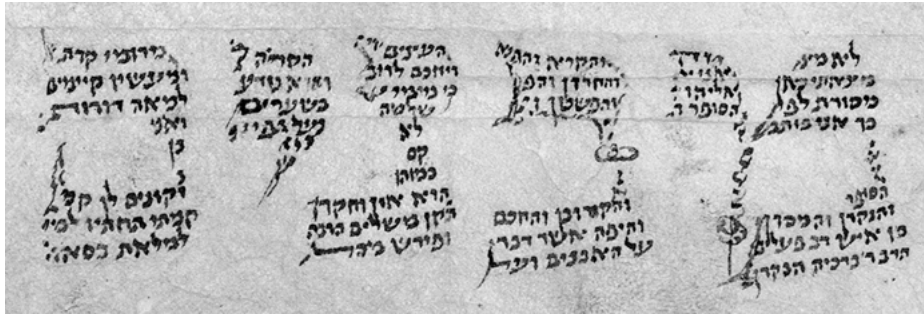


Figure 15: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 239r, lower margin (detail)

וסיימתיהו ביום ג' כ"א בחדש אב שנת צ"ט לפרט אלף חמישי ש[בח] ל[אל]
means “I finished [this book] on the third day [Tuesday], 21st of the month of Ab of the year 99 according to the small count [of the] fifth millennium, praise to the Lord.” Accordingly, the manuscript should be dated from 1339, if we read 99 as 5099, but it has been interpreted as 4999, i.e. 1239, essentially for chronological and palaeographical reasons.⁵⁶ N. Golb supported the date of 1239 and was followed by Richler, as stated in his catalogue, despite the fact that the day of the week does not match with Tuesday.⁵⁷ A. Neubauer also suggested the date 1219 [i.e. 9794 = עט] which gives the correct day of the week mentioned in the colophon (Tuesday),⁵⁸ but in my opinion, the paleographical ductus of the letter Ayin is unrecognizable here.

Hebrew script

The scribe uses the following scripts:

- 1) a calligraphic square script (see Plates 1–13), Ashkenazi type, of a Northern French type, similar to the script of MS Or. Quart. 9,⁵⁹
- 2) a bookhand semi-cursive script,⁶⁰
- 3) a possible cursive script in some annotations f. 263r and f. 281v (see before).

The vowels and accents are written according to the Tiberian system.

⁵⁶ Elijah, son of a scholar of the 12th century, may have not lived in the 14th century, his script shows clear features of Gothic northern French script from the 13th century, and the MS, written by the same scribe, is dated according to the same system (see Appendix 3).

⁵⁷ The 21st Av of 4999 is a Sunday.

⁵⁸ Neubauer 1890a, 520.

⁵⁹ Engel 2010; Engel 2014; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 128. Further palaeographical research is required on the sub-geo-cultural areas of Ashkenaz.

⁶⁰ See Golb 1976, Plate 18.

History of the volume

The first quire was restored then rewritten by an Italo-Ashkenazic Italian scribe (square script, ff. 1–3 + talon) and owned by Italian Jews during the 16th century if not more, as several Hebrew annotations attest. See f. 1r, [... ben] Rav Cohen in 1442, a Dolce of Castelleto in 1540; on f. 242v, before the beginning of the Song of Songs, Isaac wrote that he took an oath in 1557.⁶¹

According to the Assemani's catalogue, the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 would have been part of the 288 Hebrew MSS of Palatine Library of Heidelberg, given by Maximilian I of Bavaria to the Pope Gregorio XV in 1622.⁶² Nevertheless, Umberto Cassuto suggests another provenance. The manuscript would have belonged to the old manuscripts of the Palatine Library (outside the Ulrico Fugger's collection, bearing the shelfmark *Vet. 494 / Nov. 14* on f. 1r), and would have been possessed by an Italian Jew, Jacob ben Abraham Rossello, a relative of Mordekhay ben Jacob Rosselo living in Ferrara in 1550.⁶³ Kennicott and De Rossi used the manuscript in their editions⁶⁴ as well as A. Berliner for his Targum's edition.⁶⁵ This manuscript is announced to be digitized and fully available on-line in the future.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Cassuto 1956, 19; Richler 2008, 11.

⁶² Assemani 1756; Richler 2014 [1992], 93, 219.

⁶³ Cassuto 1935, 56, 69, 70.

⁶⁴ See Introduction, 18.

⁶⁵ Berliner 1884.

⁶⁶ See Polonski Foundation Digitization Project.

Appendix 3: MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 9

Codicological and Paleographical Description

Bible : Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Job and Haftarat copied, corrected, vocalized and completed with Masorah by Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan, 198ff, parchment, c. 134 × 115 mm (c. 90 × 78 mm), finished on Wednesday the 26th October 1233 (f. 197r) in the city of Rouen (RDWM רדומ).

This manuscript kept at the SBB is an homogenous volume.¹ From f. 1r till the end, the only copyist, corrector, punctuator and masorete is Elijah ha-Naqdan. The biblical text contains the Pentateuch (ff. 3–129v),² Five Scrolls (ff. 130r–146r),³ Job (ff. 146r–159v) and the Haftarat according to the Ashkenazic rite (ff. 160r–196v). From f. 182r onwards, the title ‘Other Haftarat’ describes the beginning of Festivals’ Haftarat. The Targum Jonathan appears in the Haftarat of Pesach (f. 190r) and Shavuot (f. 194v), mostly alternating verse-by-verse.⁴

The text provides Masoretic notes MP and MM on Pentateuch and Five Scrolls. The foliotation is correctly added in Latin on every recto.

Format, size

The MS Or. Quart. 9 is a very small bible (pocket Bible) similar to, for instance, MS Paris, BnF, Hébr. 33.⁵ It is measuring approximately 134 × 115 mm. The written space measures approximately 90 × 78 mm. Example from f. 137r: ([15] + 89 + [10] + 4 + [14]) × ([10] + 22 + [7] + 21 + [7] + 21 + [28]) mm.

Parchment

Several kinds of parchments were used in several thicknesses (from very thin to medium thick) and several colors of tanned skin can be observed. The differentiation between the hair and flesh (brighter) sides is usually visible, but the shaving has sometimes erased these differences.

1 I have examined the manuscript at the Staatsbibliothek in October 2011. Steinschneider 1878, 22–23, n. 43; Golb 1976, 123, 141–142; Golb 1976, 123, 141–142; Golb 1985, 238–240; Golb 1998, 325–328; Werner 2002.

2 Genesis (3r–34v), Exodus (34v–61v), Leviticus (62r–81r), Numbers (81r–107v), Deuteronomy (108r–129v).

3 Song of Songs (ff. 130rv–132r); Ecclesiastes (132r–136v), Ruth (ff. 136v–138v), Lamentations (ff. 138v–140v); Esther (ff. 140v–146r). Not in the same order as in Vat. Ebr. 14.

4 The Targum Jonathan begins on f. 190r with a delay: first, the verses Joshua 5:2–4 are quoted, then the Targum on these verses, and after, Hebrew and Aramaic alternate. The same is visible on f. 194v, for Shavuot, Ezekiel, 1:1–3, then Targum, then alternating after verse 1:4. On Targum layout, see Attia 2014.

5 See Sirat 1997, 246–247, 257 (fig. 9).

Ink

A dark brown ink is used, turning sometimes to orange. The Masorah is written in a lighter brown ink after f. 137.

Quires

The manuscript is made up of 18 quaternions, 4 ternions (quires No. 11, 16, 23, 25) and 3 quinions (quires No. 4, 12, 18). The first and the last ternions are incomplete (one folio is missing in each). If the difference between the sides is visible, the 'rule of Gregory' is respected. Oftentimes, the first recto and last verso of a quire are bright and shiny. A majority of quires end with a catchword made up of one or two words, anticipating the first word(s) of the next folio. Nonetheless, some catchwords had been cut.⁶

Pricking, Ruling

The pricking for the ruling is sometimes visible only in the outer margins of each recto side of the folio, when the parchment has not been trimmed. The ruling was made with hard point more frequently on flesh sides, which are brighter in appearance. A grid supplemented by additional lines composes three small columns of text. There are 30 or 31 ruled lines and generally 29 written lines.

Mise en page, mise en texte

The written text is generally arranged in three small columns (21 mm) and the manuscript resembles the Masorah like Vat14: most of the ornamental or figurative micrographical drawings are located in the lower margins. The 'chessboard' layout is employed like in Vat14 on f. 43v (*Shirat ha-Yam*, Exod 15:1–18), on f. 128v (*Ha'azinu*, but in two main columns) and on f. 267r (*Song of Deborah*). On the contrary to Vat14, there are no specific Initial word panels at the beginning of each book. A space of ten ruled lines is left blank before a new biblical book. The word *Hazaq* (be fortified!) is often written at the end of a biblical book. Sometimes, a decorative drawing is placed before the beginning of the next book. Blank spaces are visible for the closed and open sections of the Torah readings. The end of the lines are completed like in Vat4.

Graphic elements

The ornamental patterns are similar to Vat14. The manuscript exhibits ornamental Masorah (small waves) in most of its lower margins. In addition, 23 figurative micrographic elements are drawn (12 in Genesis and 14 in Deuteronomy). Among these 23 elements, only vegetal, animal or architectural elements are drawn. Only the micro-

⁶ See ff. 123v, 129v, 137v, 155v, 171v, 179v.

graphical figurative element on f. 19r (the scale from Jacob's dream) exactly matches the same text and place in Vat14.⁷

Nb	Folio (B)	Subject	Biblical Text
1	4v	Key	Gen 2:15–3:12
2	9v	Lion	Gen 14:1–22
SD	14v	Goat / Bull	Gen 22:8–23:6
3	19r	Jacob's scale ⁸ / Head (SD)	Gen 27:37–28:13
4	21r	Key	Gen 30:32–31:12
5	23v	Fleur-de-lys	Gen 34:1–25
6	25v	Geometric element, flower?	Gen 36:41–37:21
7	26r	Goat / Horse	Gen 37:22–38:11
8	26v	Architectural structure	Gen 38:12–39:4
9	27r	Potiphar's prosperity (4 elements)	Gen 39:5–40:3
10	27v	Cow's head (Pharaoh's dream)	Gen 40:3–41:3
11	108v	Grotesque frightening? (Deut 1:29?)	Deut 1:21–43
12	109r	Key / geometric element	Deut 1:43–2:22
13	109v	Israel ⁹ taking possession of cities, defeating the Kings Sihon, Og.	Deut 2:22–3:4
14	110r	Gates of fortification (Deut 3:5)	Deut 3:4–24
15	110v	Hybrid Dragon (Idolatry forbidden (Deut 4:15–18) / cup	Deut 3:24–4:14
16	111r	Geometric element (Altar?)	Deut 4:14–32
17	112r	Ten Commandments (4 isolated elements, fleur-de-lys?, pure food (fish), ? and an axe)	Deut 5:4–24
18	115v	Griffon / Wheel ¹⁰	Deut 10:17–11:14
19	116r	Wheel	Deut 11:14–12:2
20	118v	Key (Free the slave the seventh year)	Deut 15:9–16:7
21	123v	Wheel / Grotesque	Deut 24:19–26:2
22	129v	Alphabetical Masorah (name of Elijah ha-Naqdan)	Deut 33:8–34:12
SD	136v	Architectural structure	Eccl 12:12–Ruth 1:19

Like in Vat14, a similar use of ה' and פ' in the margins is made (see Description 1).

⁷ See illustration in Werner 2002.

⁸ See precedent note.

⁹ The first looks like a *magen David*.

¹⁰ Image published in Sed-Rajna 1997, 238, fig. 3.

Identification of the scribe

The name of the scribe appears twice. Firstly, at the end of Deuteronomy, f. 129v, Elijah ha-Naqdan is identified through alphabetical micrography (see Plate 14, at the end of the description). Lastly, the name of Elijah ben ha-[word erased!] Berakhiah ha-Naqdan appears in the colophon f. 197r.¹¹ The name of the city RDWM (רדום) was mentioned by Steinschneider in his complete transcription of the colophon.¹² Here an extract:

אנ[י] הסופר והנקדן אליהו בן ה[...]¹⁴ ר' ברכיה הנקדן והקרא והתנא והדיוקן והחכם גדול
[...] ואני בן זקוניו כתבתי ונקדתי ומסרתי זה הספר [...] וסיימתי אותו יום ד' באחד ועשרים יום לירח
מרחשוון שנת צ"ד לפרט אלף הרביעי במדינת רדום [...] ¹⁵

Several readings of the term RDWM have been suggested. While Redos, Rhodus Island, or 'in regione Australi' were suggested by Kennicott,¹⁶ Rouen (as *Rodomus* or *Rodoma*) was suggested by H. Gross and followed by N. Golb.¹⁷ This interpretation is contested by G. Nahon, suggesting Dormans (Marne).¹⁸

Dating

The dating of the Colophon I, f. 197r (above mentioned) is incomplete and does not mention the century the manuscript was written in.¹⁹ According to the small count of the 4th millennium, the year 94 could indicate 4094, but like in Vat. Ebr. 14, it should be read 4994, matching with Wednesday the 26th October 1233. This allows a chronological proximity with Berakhiah ha-Naqdan (second half of the 12th century, Elijah as a son of his old age) and a palaeographical coherence with Vat. Ebr. 14.²⁰

Hebrew script

The scribe uses a calligraphic square script, of the Ashkenazic type, described as the Northern French square script.²¹ Even if the script is of a very small size (2 mm), it is similar in all points to the script of MS Vat. Ebr. 14. Vowels and accents are written according to the Tiberian vocalization system.

¹¹ see Golb 1976, illustration 20.

¹² Steinschneider 1878, 22–23; Golb 1976, 123.

¹³ Erased.

¹⁴ Erased. Golb 1976, 123, הרב.

¹⁵ "I am the scribe Elijah ben ha[?] Berakhiah ha-Naqdan, the Qara', the Tana', the expert grammarian and the Wise [...]. I am son of his old age. I have written, vocalized and added the Masorah in this book [...]. I have finished it the 4th day [Wednesday] the 21st Marheshwan of the year 94 according to the small count of the 4th millennium in the land of RDWM."

¹⁶ Kennicott 2003 [1776–1780] statt 1783, 520.

¹⁷ Gross 2011 [1969], 622–624, esp. 623; Golb 1998, 269–274.

¹⁸ Nahon 1975; Nahon 2011, 36.

¹⁹ A common phenomenon in Starrs of England, see Davis 1888; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014b.

²⁰ See also Golb 1998, 328.

²¹ Engel 2010; Engel 2014.

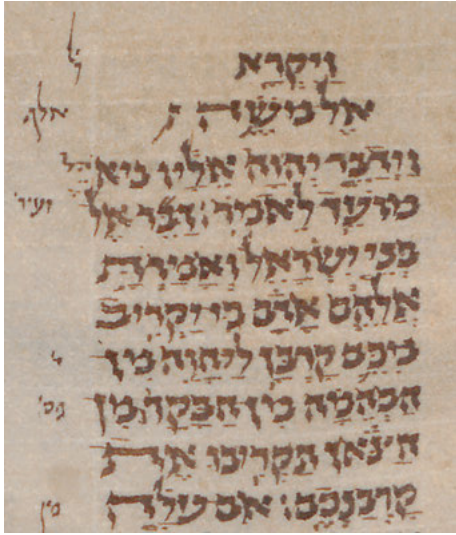


Figure 16: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung,
MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 113r

History of the volume

The manuscript was owned by the German orientalist Andreas Müller of Greiffenhagen (1630–1694),²² then described in Hamburg by the German Hebraist Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739),²³ before being part of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek or Königliche Bibliothek (today: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). The manuscript was used by Kennicott and DeRossi.²⁴

²² Müller quotes the manuscript in his *Acta eruditorum* (1687), 134.

²³ Wolf 1715–1733, 166–167; Richler 2014 [1992], 230.

²⁴ See Introduction, 18.



Plate 15: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 129v, the alphabetical Masorah reads אליהו הנקדן (Elijah ha-Naqdan)²⁵

²⁵ For 'alphabetical Masorah' expression, see Introduction, n. 20.



Plate 16: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 197r, colophon

Appendix 4: Statistical Results

Cases of this Edition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Numbers of lemmas ¹	15	17	6	13	14	14	11	6	14	17	18	9	9
Illegible part	2 ²	2 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	-	-
Biblical verses in MMfig	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Captions	-	2 ⁵	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	4 ⁶	1	-	-
Uncertain signs (reading mark) ' and 'p'	1	-	1	1	-	-	3	2	2	1	2	3	2
Unknown material / Unidentified list	-	3 ⁷	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Erased words	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commentary as a MP	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Correction ⁸	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Addendum ⁹	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

¹ Including in MMfig.

² In the MMfig.

³ In the MMor.

⁴ In the MMfig.

⁵ In the MMfig.

⁶ One is in the MMfig.

⁷ In the MMor.

⁸ Made by Elijah ha-Naqdan only.

⁹ Made by Elijah ha-Naqdan only.

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MS JNUL 24^o5702 or MS Sassoon 507. *See* Damascus Pentateuch
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Gen 27:37–28:13	133	Exod 5:4	38
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Gen 29:21	46	Exod 5:7	38
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Gen 30:32–31:12	133	Exod 5:9	39
Gen 31:16	59	Exod 5:10	39
Gen 31:52–32:9	123	Exod 5:11	40
Gen 32:26	46	Exod 5:12	40
Gen 34:1–25	133	Exod 5:13	40, 41
Gen 35:13–35:28	123	Exod 5:14	41
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Gen 37:1–37:11	123	Exod 8:17	46
Gen 37:22–38:11	133	Exod 9:33	45
Gen 38:12–39:4	133	Exod 9:34–10:8	123
Gen 39:5–40:3	133	Exod 10:1	45
Gen 40:3–41:3	133	Exod 10:02	45
Gen 40:12–40:23	123	Exod 10:4	47
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